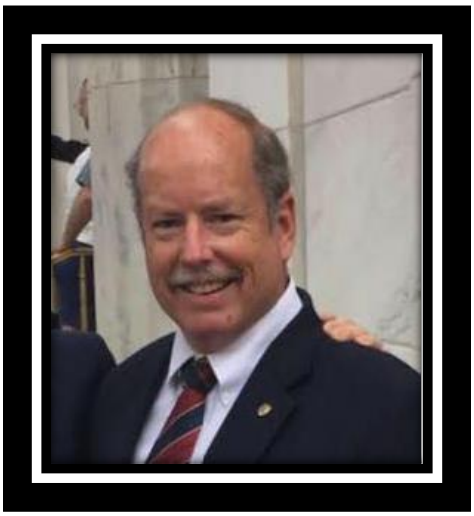
St. Margaret's Journal

Newsletter of The National Guild of St. Margaret of Scotland

Spring 2022 **Volume 6, Issue 1**

From the President General



My Dear Friends,

We are now only a few weeks away from our first in-person meeting since COVID hit. Our meeting will be held at the Army and Navy Club in Washington, D.C. on the 12th of April. Good news is reservations continue to flow in and that shows a growing excitement as we look forward to traveling and seeing each other. I am looking forward to seeing each of you.

Reports are due, please send them to me as soon as you can. I'll be compiling them electronically in hopes of distributing to everyone prior to the meeting.

National Guild of St. Margaret of Scotland and Order of the Norman Conquest continue to join forces for a meeting and lunch.

One last thought, before heading to D.C. make sure you know the current COVID protocol guidelines.

Be well,
Tim

Two Websites of Interest
The Guild of St. Margaret: http://www.guildofstmargaret.com
Members Only password: stmargaret
St. Margaret's Chapel (in Edinburgh) stmargaretschapel.com

New Members

GSM #	Member and Gateway Ancestor	Date
672	Pamela Sue Williams Johnson via Robert Strong Williams, Illinois (David)	24 Jan 2021
673	Cynthia Kay Douglas Monshower via William Wentworth, New Hamphshire (David)	24 Jan 2021
674	Leda Elizabeth Behseresht via Anne Baynton Batt, Massachusetts Bay (Matilda)	14 Feb 2021
675	Nancy Jayne Munnerlyn Spears Via Capt. Charles Barham, Virginia (Matilda)	29 Mar 2021
676	Julia Lynn Palmer Hesler via John Fisher, Virginia (Matilda)	08 Jun 2021
677	Jonathan Shane Newcombe via Thomas Ligon, Virginia (Matilda)	25 Aug 2021
678	Patricia Ellen Gallagher via Anne Barham, Virginia (Matilda)	24 Oct 2021
679	Terry Don Cowan Via Edward Rainsford, Massachusetts Bay (Matilda)	24 Oct 2021
680	Gail Ann Thomas via Elizabeth Bullock, Massachusetts Bay (Matilda)	24 Oct 2021
681	Benjamin Ganson Webster via Margaret Fleming Bowen, Massachusetts Bay (Matilda)	27 Nov 2021

The Guild of St. Margaret of Scotland

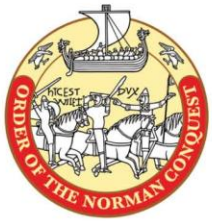
2021 – 2023 Board

President General	Timothy Mabee
1st Vice President General	Karen Janczy
2nd Vice President General	Janet Butler Walker
Chaplain General	Melissa Fischer
Treasurer General	Mike Swisher
Secretary General	Cricket Crigler
Registrar/Genealogist General	John Harman
Chancellor General	Patricia Kryder
Historian General	Sandra Lee Hendrick Staley
Trustee General	David Grinnell
Trustee General	Marsha Masone

APPOINTED COMMITTEE CHAIRS

2021-2023

Apparel:	Michael Perry Schenk
Bylaws:	Charles B. Poland
Financial Reviewer:	John Hallberg Jones
Insignia:	Eric J. Nielsen, MD
Membership:	John R. Harman, Jr.
Newsletter:	Cricket Crigler
Parliamentarian:	Carla Whitehurst Odom
Web Site Coordinator:	Anne Caussin Henninger (Interim)
Nominating Committee:	V. Allen Gray, Chair
	Tim Mabee
	Sandra Staley



Presidents General Dianne A. Robinson and Douglass Mather Mabee
and the General Officers of the

Order of the Norman Conquest
and
National Guild of St. Margaret of Scotland

request the pleasure of your company at the

Joint Meeting and Luncheon

at 12:00 p.m.
Tuesday, the twelfth of April
Two thousand twenty-two

at

The Army and Navy Club
901 Seventeenth Street NW, on Farragut Square
Washington, DC

(courtesy of Dianne Alley Robinson and Michael Perry Schenk)

Speaker: Kelly DeVries
Topic: "What is the Latest on the Battle of Hastings"

Please follow current COVID protocol guidelines

RSVP by
April 7, 2022

Use of cell phones
is prohibited in the club

Karen Markey Janczy
First Vice President General

Karen has been doing family genealogy for over twenty-five years and became a member of the NSDAR in 2001. She is presently serving a second term as Regent of Harmony Hall Chapter in Fort Washington, MD, and is an Honorary Chapter Regent; and the State Chair for the Insignia Committee for the Maryland State Society. She is the Registrar General of the Order of Americans of Armorial Ancestry, Baroness General of the Society of Descendants of Lady Godiva; DC Court President of the National Society Women Descendants Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, DC State Governor of Continental Society Daughters of Indian Wars, Second Vice President of the Maryland State Society Dames of the Court of Honor, and State Treasurer Maryland State Society Daughters of the American Colonists as well as being a member of Colonial Dames of America, The Baronial Order of Magna Charta, the Order of the Crown of Charlemagne in the United States of America, Order of William the Marshal, Order of the King and Queens of the Holy Lands, Order of the Sovereigns of Ancient Scandinavia, Order of the House of Wessex, Order of the Descendants of El Cid, Order of Medieval Women: Women of Consequence, Hereditary Order of the Red Dragon, Legion of Vikings and Valkyries, Descendants of Brian Boru, Descendants of the Knights of the Garter, Descendants of Fossers 1607-1860, Guild of Colonial Artisans and Tradesmen, 1607-1783, First Families of Georgia 1733-1797, National Society Colonial Dames of the XVII Century, National Society Daughter of Colonial Wars, National Society Daughters of the Union 1861-1865, National Society Magna Charta Dames, National Society of New England Women, National Society Sons and Daughters of the Pilgrims, National Society Southern Dames of America, National Society United States Daughters of 1812, Order of Alba, Order of the First Families of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Order of the Norman Conquest, Sons and Daughters of the Colonial and Antebellum Bench and Bar 1565-1861, and the Roger Williams Family Association. She also an active member of the Order of the Eastern Star and is currently serving as Grand Marshal of the Grand Chapter of Maryland and is a Past Grand Chaplain.

Karen is a retired Registered Nurse and has a BA in Liberal Studies from Georgetown University in Washington, DC, and a MS in Management from the University of Maryland University College. She is currently employed as a Corrections Genealogist for the National Society Daughters of the American Revolution, where she has worked since 2008.

A fourth-generation Floridian, Karen lives in Southern Maryland with her husband Mike and spoiled Sheltie Colbie.

MEMORIALS

Jack Jones Early, Ed.D
#476 (A) 6/10/2012
Died 1/22/2022

Dr. Jack Jones Early of Louisville, age 96, passed away on January 22, 2022. He was born to the late Joseph and Lela Jones Early on April 12, 1925, in Corbin, KY. He was preceded in death by his parents; brother J. Derwood Early; beloved wife of 64 years Nancye Whaley Early; and son-in-law John Best. He is survived by his daughters and sons-in-law, Lela Martin (Harold) of Midlothian, VA, Judy Best of Edwardsville, IL, Laura Early (Randy Davis) of Lake Carroll, IL; grandchildren Chris Martin of Richmond, VA, Ben Martin (Meg Edwards) of Woodbridge, VA, Kate Gould (Trevor) of Pittsburgh, PA, Joey Best of Grand Prairie, TX, Jackson Best of Edwardsville, IL, and Liam Davis of Lake Carroll, IL; great-grandson Jack Martin of Woodbridge, VA; sisters-in-law Katie Ratliff of Ashland, KY and Adeline Muir of Nicholasville, KY; numerous other relatives.

Jack was a devoted husband, father, grandfather, great-grandfather, and he never knew a stranger. Jack valued education. His own education started in Corbin. Unable to serve in the military due to a medical condition, he continued at Union College (KY) where he received his B.A. in 1948. He earned both his M.A. (1953) and Ed.D. (1956) at the University of Kentucky. Simultaneously, he earned a B.D. in religious education from Lexington Theological Seminary. He received several honorary degrees as well.

His career in education started in 1948 at Hindman High School and Hindman Settlement School (KY). He became a professor at Athens College (AL) in 1953. After completing his doctorate, he was named Dean at Iowa Wesleyan University. In 1958, he became President of Dakota Wesleyan University (SD), the youngest college president at that time. In 1969, he served as President of Pfeiffer University in NC. After that, he worked as the Executive Director for Education for the American Bankers Association in Washington, DC. Returning to academics in 1973, he became President of Limestone University in SC. In 1979, he became Vice President for education and communications at Combined Insurance Company of America and later Vice President for education at W. Clement Stone PMA Communications, Inc., in Chicago.

He was elected President of the Kentucky Independent College Fund in 1984. After his full-time retirement, he later taught courses at McKendree University (IL) until age 90. He valued the Christian faith. He was a lifelong Methodist, who was ordained as a minister in 1954, but started preaching when he was in high school. Jack and Nancye met as officers in Methodist youth fellowship and had their first date after a church event. He received a leadership award from the

Religious Heritage of America and later served on its board. He attended St. Matthews United Methodist Church until his death.
He knew he would go to heaven and join Nancye after his life on earth ended. Jack valued service. Active in civic and charitable organizations over the years, he served in many capacities from being PTA president to serving on the board of the YMCA to sitting on scholarship committees. He was a 33° Mason. He was a Rotarian for much of his life, serving a term as District governor. After doing genealogical research, he became involved in hereditary societies including the Society of the Cincinnati, Order of the Founders and Patriots of America, Jamestowne Society, and Sons of the American Revolution among others. He was a founding member of First Families of Kentucky. He served as chaplain or prelate at the national level in many of these organizations. He was inducted into honorary membership by the Hereditary Society Community.
Jack was a lifelong Republican. At a young age, he was elected to the Kentucky General Assembly, serving during the 1952-54 term. He was a delegate from South Dakota to the 1968 Republican National Convention. One of his many honors was being inducted into the University of Kentucky Hall of Distinguished Alumni.
He was also an ardent fan of UK sports, especially basketball. Jack had a positive mental attitude. He gave motivational speeches worldwide through the International Council on Education for Teaching and led training programs, including in prisons, as Director of Education of the Napoleon Hill Foundation. He shared that same positivity every day. Visitation will begin at noon on Saturday, February 5, 2022, at Pearson's Funeral Home, 149 Breckenridge Lane, Louisville, KY 40207, with a service following at 1:00 pm. In lieu of flowers, the family requests memorial donations to the ""Early"" scholarship fund at any of these institutions: Union College, 310 College Street, Box D004, Barboursville, KY 40906 or unioncollege.givingfuel.com; Kentucky Wesleyan College, 3000 Fredericka Street, Owensboro, KY 42301 or kwc.edu/give; Dakota Wesleyan University,1200 West University Avenue, Mitchell, SD 57301 or give.dwu.edu. Masks and social distancing required.

Guild of St. Margaret Insignia and Apparel Items

Due to changes in item pricing and postage it is impossible to keep and maintain a current order form for these items. Therefore, requests for order forms can be made by contacting the Insignia Chairperson, Eric Nielsen at: ejnielmd@icloud.com and Apparel Chairperson, Michael Schenk at: mpschenk49@gmail.com or by calling 601-856-9895.

Order Form for Guild Insignia items for sale:

- Large insignia
- Miniature insignia
- Disc insignia (for branch bar)
- Gateway Ancestor bar (up to 18 engraved characters included in the price of the bar)

Order Form for Martlets – for supplemental lines through different child other than the primary line. They are $15 and that includes postage.

Order Form for Guild Apparel (*Tartan pattern is Caledonia Modern*) items for sale:

- Tie
- Bow Tie (pre-tied)
- Scarf with fringes (9.5” x 57”)
- Mini Sash Rosette (5” x 26” the rosette on shoulder; the other half drapes over the shoulder)
- Sash with fringes (11” x 90”)

For a full account of the following two articles + Full Bibliography see
The National Guild of St. Margaret of Scotland website:
https://www.guildofstmargaret.com

L – R Isabella Jackson-Saitz, Professor Jonathan R. Lyon, and Samual Hebert

Above the Urban Crowd: Negotiations of Elite Urban Masculinity in Fourteenth Century Paris

By

Isabella Jackson-Saitz

Presented to the Department of History
in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the BA Degree

The University of Chicago
April 9, 2021

Abstract

This thesis examines the cultural and social practices of the fourteenth century Parisian patriciate, the *échevins*, in order to analyze their particular version of masculinity. Their unique position as city leaders close to the royal court without being members of the nobility meant that they negotiated a form of masculinity between that of a prudent merchant and the hegemonic chivalric masculinity of a knight. Despite their lineage marking them as non-nobles, the *échevins* placed themselves in dialogue with chivalric ideas of masculinity through their public performances and knowledge of noble culture while also rhetorically emphasizing their ability to represent Paris as a whole, a city they considered the greatest in their world. This thesis relies on work done on gender theory and particularly masculinity studies to describe the place of this group of elite men, who have not yet been considered through a gendered lens.

Acknowledgements

As I come to the end of a process that carried through a particularly challenging year, I find myself incredibly grateful to everyone who offered me support, from advice on potential sources to detailed feedback on drafts to providing dinner when I was up against particularly tough deadlines. I owe gratitude to many of my professors whose courses introduced me to methods in medieval and urban history, as well as to a network of advice on where I could look for particular sources. Thank you especially to my advisor Professor Jonathan Lyon, whose Medieval Masculinity course, taught with Alexandra Hoffman, introduced me to the theories that became the backbone of this project. As I researched, wrote, rewrote and revised, Professor Lyon was an incredible source of feedback and reassurance, and I could not have asked for a more helpful or available advisor. I owe a great deal to my peers (thanks especially to Ciara Cronin who was always a panicked facebook message away) for their commiseration and advice. Thank you to my roommate Olivia Yardley for her appropriate expressions of concern and constant offers to cook for me; I could not ask for a better balance of motivation and distraction in a single person. Lastly, thanks as always to my mother, sister, and father, and his questions about why this small group of medieval men matter at all which began a long conversation that refocused my project.

In 1270, Pierre Gencien, a wealthy Parisian, dreamt up a tournament fought within the walls of his city, not by knights or even by his peers in the government of the city, but by their wives. Reversing both the class and gender confines of tournaments, Gencien watches as these beautiful women stage their combat, all the while praising their husbands for the character of their wives. Thirty years later, another Gencien organized a tournament for the non-noble elite of Paris. Despite not acquiring the official social rank of nobility, the Parisian elite used elements of noble culture to fashion a public image of ideal men. These jousts, hallmarks of chivalric culture and full of chivalric imagery, subverted the expectation of high birth that went along with the hegemonic ideal of the valiant knight. Instead, the jousts were fought by magistrates, merchants, and bankers who left the field having proved their martial honor in order to return to a different public life of municipal governance.

By the beginning of the fourteenth century, the city of Paris was the largest in medieval Europe, comprising a population of 200,000 inhabitants when London counted about 50,000.[1] Its size meant that governance by a singular *prêvot de Paris* (provost of Paris), appointed to administer the city on behalf of the king, became logistically difficult, and in 1263, the guild known as the *Hanse des marchands de l'eau* that controlled commerce on the Seine transformed into a semi-municipal council of magistrates headed by a *prêvot des marchands* (provost of merchants) and made up of *échevins*.[2] These municipal leaders were members of a political and economic elite in the

[1] Jean Favier, *Le Bourgeois de Paris Au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Tallandier, 2012), 22.
[2] The term was used for city officials in several medieval French-speaking cities and is most closelytranslated as "burgher" or "alderman."

city of Paris, often from families who had held the position of *prêvot* of the city previously.[3]

The Parisian patriciate exerted a significant amount of social and economic power not only over city governance itself, but also over the French monarchy because of their proximity to and involvement in royal bureaucracy. Within the city, the *échevins* made up the social elite, due to their political and bureaucratic responsibilities and ultimately their wealth. Their growing wealth and status posed the question of what sort of social identity they would claim for themselves particularly with relation to their negotiation of a status of being both untitled, or not members of the hereditary nobility whose privileges placed them at the top of the medieval social order, and yet also clearly not members of the peasantry. The social practices and customs of the Parisian elite further challenge the medieval scheme of a society neatly divided into the three orders of nobles, clergy, and workers which has already been questioned and complicated by scholarly efforts.[4]

The patriciate of Paris, as neither members of the clergy nor nobles, belonged to the third order of medieval society, but their wealth and political power distinguished them from both peasants and urban workers. The city of Paris was home to nobles, members of the clergy, and the "third order" comprised of everyone else, but only a relatively small subsection would have been considered Parisian citizens, or a true

---

[3] Favier, *Le Bourgeois de Paris*, 27.

[4] See Georges Duby, *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), for an influential statement of this division of medieval society which posits a crisis in the eleventh century that led to the argument that society should be divided into three orders. In addition to criticism ofthe concept of "feudalism" itself (see Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "The Tyranny of a Construct: Feudalism andHistorians of Medieval Europe," *The American Historical Review* 79, no. 4 (1974): 1063–88), the third order of "those who worked" has been further complicated and divided into men of different levels of power, rank, wealth and opportunity: see for example Sharon A. Farmer, *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris: Gender, Ideology, and the Daily Lives of the Poor*, Conjunctions of Religion and Power in the Medieval Past (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002).

"bourgeois of Paris."[5] The *échevins* represented an even smaller, wealthier, and more powerful subsection of Parisian citizens. The *échevins* occupied a unique social and cultural identity separate from both the *menu peuple*, the small merchants, urban poor, and non-citizens, of the city and the nobility with whom they interacted. They defined themselves clearly against the middle and lower classes of Paris, often disdained in both upper class urban and clerical sources, through their exercise of political and economic power but also importantly through a public presentation of themselves as the elite of the city.[6]

In order to do so, they borrowed many of the activities and customs associated with medieval knights. The social identity cultivated by the Parisian elite by the early fourteenth century adopted the visual and rhetorical strategies of noble or knightly culture in order to assert their unique status within the royal city, not only before the *menu peuple* of Paris but also before the royal court. By examining the ways in which men in the middle ages performed and defined their own masculinity, their idea of their place in the social order similarly becomes more apparent. As noted by Ruth Mazo Karras, the modern concept of masculinity that implies control and domination becomes problematic in a society where only a few men have that power: as a result, either very few men are true men, or men denied ultimate social power must find other means of proving themselves as men.[7] If masculinity requires status, it is entirely possible that large swathes of the medieval population were relegated to the status of "not-men." This

---

[5] Favier, *Le Bourgeois de Paris*, 3.
[6] Sharon Farmer, "The Beggar's Body: Intersections of Gender and Social Status in High Medieval Paris,"in *Monks and Nuns, Saints and Outcasts: Religion in Medieval Society*, ed. Barbara Rosenwein (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2018), 153–71.
[7] Ruth Mazo Karras, *From Boys to Men* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2003) 10

conception of masculinity defined by domination becomes particularly interesting in the urban context when increasingly wealthy–but non-aristocratic–men sought to define themselves in contrast to both the nobility and to poorer urban workers.

The *échevins'* negotiation of presence and wealth in Paris could not truly compete with or unseat the hegemonic masculinity of the knight, nor did the Parisian patriciate make a systematic attempt to integrate themselves into the nobility in the fourteenth century. Instead, they chose some of the practices associated with the nobility to bring into their own social world. While using a cultural language borrowed from the nobility, the Parisian elite claimed a unique status as wealthy urbanites involved in the governance of the foremost city in the kingdom of France. By maintaining their value of their Parisian identity and urban political power, the *échevins* carved out a new definition of masculinity in between that of the worker and the knight. While well aware of the benefits of aligning themselves with noble culture and ideas of social and gender identity, the *échevins* held themselves as distinct members of an urban class that could speak for a city as great as Paris.

Literature Review

In order to determine the social identity and the particular masculinity of the Parisian elite, this thesis relies on strands of political and social urban history, theories about medieval processions as performance, and finally medieval masculinity studies. By placing the cultural identities of the *échevins* in the context of their political and economic place in the city of Paris, it becomes possible to construct an argument about their negotiation of different ideas of masculinity. Beginning with scholarly work on medieval cities provides both a political background to their situation and a sense of the

ways in which the urban elite saw themselves as unique. Medieval urban history grew in popularity beginning in the nineteenth century, as historians like Augustin Thierry saw the stirrings of French liberalism in the free air of the city, framing urbanization as a teleological march toward the French Revolution.[8] More recent work tends both to avoid this framing and to focus on the presence in the city of those who did not belong to the category of the bourgeois, whether nobles or non-citizens.[9] Claims of a separate, refined status made by the urbanites who could produce writing in the middle ages are now treated as rhetorical efforts to aggrandize themselves and to structure their own society through written documents rather than a reflection of the reality of urban social and political culture.[10]

Instead of a city representing an island free of the stratification of rural medieval society, it is important to note that nobles, clergy, and workers existed in very close proximity in the medieval city. As noted by Simone Roux, the royal city of Paris especially resists an analysis that attempts to separate the king and the royal court from urbanites, particularly the urban elite.[11] Roux approaches the city through the social networks that unite its inhabitants, noting in particular the interactions between nobles, the patriciate, and members of lower guilds. Because of the presence of the royal court, the wealthiest Parisians often had relatively direct access to the king and nobility in ways that similarly wealthy men in other French cities did not. Histories of Paris take pains to

---

[8] Augustin Thierry, *Essai sur l'histoire de la formation et des progrès du Tiers Etat: suivi de deuxfragments du recueil des monuments inédits de cette histoire* (Garnier, 1875).
[9] Thierry Dutour, *Les Nobles et La Ville Dans l'espace Francophone: (XIIe-XVIe Siècle)* (PUPS, 2010),
[10] See for example Pierre Chastang, *La ville, le gouvernement et l'écrit à Montpellier (xiie-xive siècle).* (Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2013).
[11]Simone Roux, *Paris in the Middle Ages*. Translated by Jo Ann McNamara, (Philadelphia: University ofPennsylvania Press, 2009).

emphasize that the city occupied a special status understood by its residents because of its size and particular political meaning to the French monarchy.[12]

The definition of a "bourgeois" man in the medieval period involves more than just the claim of residence in a city. Jean Favier argues that the category of "bourgeois" implies a level of wealth and political power that separates a "bourgeois" man from any male inhabitant of Paris. In his study of the *échevins* of Paris, Boris Bove similarly divides the citizens into social groups based primarily on wealth.[13] Bove argues convincingly that the primary feature required to be an elite Parisian man was wealth and that political power came as a consequence of riches. This thesis adopts Bove's economic analysis of the patriciate of Paris and expands it by analyzing its implications for the distinct social and gendered identity of the Parisian elite.

With their riches, the Parisian *échevins* were able to perform versions of their identity through festivals, jousts, and processions. The study of urban processions has focused largely on their role in presenting a united city as well as eliding social tensions within the medieval city apparent outside of moments of seeming unity. For Janos Bák, urban processions and royal entries provided moments for the city as a whole to establish its identity against the claims of an outsider, the king.[14] Royal entries provide a prism to analyze the economic and political claims made by the city and their ritual acceptance or negotiation with the monarch. Gordon Kipling focuses on the meaning of royal entries for the construction of an idea of the monarch as a powerful Christ-like figure.[15] Kipling and

---

[12] Jean Favier, *Le Bourgeois de Paris Au Moyen Âge*. Paris: Tallandier, 2012.
[13] Boris Bove, *Dominer La Ville: Prévôts Des Marchands et Échevins Parisiens de 1260 à 1350*. Vol. 13. CTHS-Histoire. Paris: Éditions du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques, 2004.
[14] Janos Bak, ed. *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, (Berkeley: University ofCalifornia Press, 1990).
[15] Gordon Kipling, *Enter the King. Theatre, Liturgy and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph*, (Oxford:Oxford University Press, 1998).

others who have written on processions and public performances that involved much of the city focus a great deal on their role in uniting the city, particularly beneath a monarch. On the whole, royal entries served as a visual representation of the negotiation and confirmation of privileges between a city and a king. Religious processions similarly provide a site for scholars to examine the tension between a performance meant to represent unity within a city fraught with social and economic divisions.[16] Considering processions as ritualized forms of performance where participants present a particular identity to their audience and focusing on the role of the *échevins* within that performance provides a clearer view of their identity and aspirations.

Beyond moments of public procession, several authors have used performance as a lens to examine urban writing and its creation of civic identity. Paul Bertrand focuses on the social dimensions of writing in the later middle ages and argues that the "revolution in writing" allowed a professional class of men to gain status in bureaucracy and then also assert that status through the production of written records.[17] Many of the *échevins* mentioned by name in chronicles also held positions in the royal bureaucracy or at least in the governance of the Parisian *Hanse de l'Eau*. The production of writing by bourgeois men should then be thought of as an act made possible by a certain social status that served in turn to define their identity. The chronicles and works of literature examined in this thesis thus present both accounts of the public presentation of an échevinal identity and a conscious effort to perform it in writing.

---

[16]See Franz Arlinghaus, "The Myth of Urban Unity: Religion and Social Performance in Late Medieval Braunschweig," in Caroline. Goodson, Anne Elisabeth Lester, and Carol. Symes, *Cities, Texts, and Social Networks, 400-1500: Experiences and Perceptions of Medieval Urban Space* (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2010).

[17]Paul Bertrand, *Documenting the Everyday in Medieval Europe : The Social Dimensions of a Writing Revolution 1250-1350*. Edited by Graham Edwards. *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy,* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019).

As this thesis concerns itself with the construction of a gendered social identity by the Parisian elite, recent work establishing medieval models of masculinity is invaluable. In the past twenty years, masculinity studies have become important within the field of gender and sexuality studies for exploring male identities rather than taking a single, static masculinity for granted. Rather than studying the male experience as the default, historians of masculinity focus on the ways in which different men negotiated their gendered experience of status and power. Medieval historians of masculinity borrow the language of modern gender theory in order to talk about the "performance" of gender and the idea of different versions of masculinity, with a dominant "hegemonic masculinity" as the idealized form of maleness in medieval society to which different groups could lay claim.[18] In function of the choice of topic and sources, much of the focus in urban history has been on writing about a default experience of men against which other medieval lives become exceptions. By writing about the elite of Paris as a uniquely constituted group of men as men, their elite and wealthy experience becomes a particular rather than default existence in the landscape of medieval urban life.

Studies of medieval masculinity take for granted the existence of different models of masculinity arranged in a hierarchy or rivalry.[19] Simon Gaunt's study of high medieval French literature focuses on chivalric, warrior masculinity, which he then contrasts with marginal masculinities visible in literary forms like the *fabliaux*.[20] He further argues that literary texts provide an idea of collective memory that can translate from the fictional to

---

[18] Raewyn Connell, *Gender,* (Polity, 2009).

[19] See Simon Gaunt, *Gender and Genre in Medieval French Literature*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1995, for an analysis of French models which argues that all literary masculinities were constructed in order to reference the hegemonic knightly masculinity taken as the sole valid representationof a man, and Ruth Mazo Karras, *From Boys to Men*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003).

[20] A genre of short comic tale which grew in popularity in the thirteenth century.

the real. In her work, Ruth Mazo Karras similarly relies on courtly romance to elaborate the hegemonic, chivalric masculinity before exploring the differences between classes of men–knights, university students, clergy, and workers–and tracks how each group's ideal form of masculinity was articulated and codified.[21] Studies on the so-called third order of medieval society tend to focus on marginal masculinities: Sharon Farmer, for example, notes that authorities despised poor men as defined by their bodies.[22] The urban poor have recently excited a great deal of interest in the way they were defined by the elite as not merely low class but also not-men.[23] The *échevins* of Paris, while unable to participate in the hegemonic masculinity of the knight, did not perform such a marginal version of masculinity, instead constructing a competing elite version of urban masculinity.

Karras' categories of medieval men, roughly divided into the "three orders" of medieval society, do not quite accommodate the place of the Parisian patriciate, whose identities and performances existed on a spectrum between chivalric culture and of the order of "those who worked." Her observations on the masculinity of working men in cities, however, particularly the importance to artisans or tradesmen of being known as a *preudome*, a man of honor, or a master rather than an apprentice, provide a useful point of departure for the identity of the merchants at the top of Parisian society. Further studies on the urban masculinity indicate a strong link between economic power and its

---

[21] Ruth Mazo Karras, *From Boys to Men*, (Philadelphia, 2003).
[22] Sharon Farmer, "The Beggar's Body: Intersections of Gender and Social Status in High Medieval Paris."In *Monks and Nuns, Saints and Outcasts: Religion in Medieval Society*, edited by Barbara Rosenwein, 153–71, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2018); and Sharon Farmer, *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris: Gender, Ideology, and the Daily Lives of the Poor*. Conjunctions of Religion and Power in the Medieval Past, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002).
[23] Diane Wolfthal, "When did Servants Become Men?," in Ann Marie Rasmussen, *Rivalrous Masculinities:New Directions in Medieval Gender Studies* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2019).

creation of a "mercantile-based version of masculinity" visible in guild members.[24] However, the proximity of the *échevins* of Paris to the court and noble versions of masculinity seems to indicate that while their self-image had a great deal to do with wealth, they may have been attempting to fit into a different version of masculine identity. The relationship of male honor to the comportment of women, for many different versions of lay masculinity, also is quite salient for an analysis of the *échevins* of Paris, who took care to marry women from other prominent families and for whom praise of a good woman would reflect on the man most closely tied to her.[25] Examinations of the masculinity of merchants or city-dwellers in other cities, particularly those from the late medieval or early modern period in Italy, provide a useful comparison to the gender identity of the *échevins* of Paris whose negotiation of status and gender remains nonetheless distinct.

While there has been a great deal of scholarly interest in defining different versions of medieval masculinity for various class and cultural categories, to my knowledge there has not yet been a serious study of the identity of the Parisian urban elite. By uniting studies of procession and public performance with a consideration of the unique social status of the *échevins*, this thesis will examine the gender identity the Parisian elite created for themselves which constitutes a different claim to a hegemonic masculinity situated firmly in the urban context. By focusing on this specific group of men who belonged to elite échevinal families, this project will address the performed

---

[24] Daniel Pigg, "Chaucer's Cook's Tale: Urban Life and its Discontents," in Albrecht Classen, *Urban Spacein the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age*, vol. 4, Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture ; (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009).

[25] On the issue of lay masculinity as it relates to wives, both noble and non-noble, in the Italian context, seeCorinne Wieben, "Virtú: Marriage, Gender and Competing Masculinities in Fourteenth Centurty Lucca," inin Ann Marie Rasmussen, *Rivalrous Masculinities: New Directions in Medieval Gender Studies* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2019).

identity of a group that considered itself unique not only in Paris but in the kingdom of France.[26]

Source base and methodology

A complete study of the 200,000 inhabitants of Paris in the fourteenth century would be complicated by the lack of available documentation on the life of the bulk of the population and necessitate dividing the population into smaller groups for a more accurate description of their social and gendered identities. The men who make up this study were members of an échevinal social group, some of whom were at one point the provost of Paris, some of whom were merely members of the forty or so families who held positions in the municipal government and in the most powerful Parisian guild. Instead of relying on the complex status of a "bourgeois" of Paris, a category that may or may not overlap with "residents" of Paris, narrowing my focus to the most successful merchants and political actors creates a cleaner social group to research. Chronicles tend to mention the names of Parisians who belonged to families who were involved in the administration of the city most often, making the identification of a coherent group of elite men simpler. Many family names recur throughout the timeframe, such as the

[26] One of the questions outside the scope of this project is the extent to which the Parisian urban elite maintained a distinct form of social and gender identity. While other contemporaneous French cities had comparable classes of échevins or consuls who held both economic and political power in the city, the unique status of Paris means that the construction of an elite Parisian identity differed from that of a Montpellieran consulate or a bourgeois from Toulouse in more ways than just the city of their allegiance. However, men from other cities did develop a similar set of criteria for their status and masculinity, namely, possession of an independent status, economic and political power, lineage, and the display, whenpossible, of near-noble attributes. One potentially significant difference in their public identities was the amount of access they had either to the nobility or to the royal court, as Parisian elites were certainly ennobled earlier and more frequently than men from other cities. See Reyerson, The Art of the Deal: Intermediaries of Trade in Medieval Montpellier (Leiden: Brill, 2002) on a mercantile masculinity and male relationships in Montpellier and, for a closer analog, Corinne Wieben, "Virtú: Marriage, Gender and Competing Masculinities in Fourteenth Century Lucca," in Ann Marie Rasmussen, *Rivalrous Masculinities: New Directions in Medieval Gender Studies* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2019).

Barbeites, Le Flament, Genciens, Essars, Arrodes, and Popins. The continual references to different men from the same powerful families both identifies a well-defined social group and provides fruit for an analysis of the lineage and development of the public identities of those families over time.

The timeframe for my study begins with the end of the thirteenth century and ends in the mid-fourteenth century. Before around 1270, the organization of Parisian government had no échevinal position, and we lack sources either by or about a patriciate class. After the middle of the fourteenth century, the crises of the Hundred Years' War directly touched Paris. In 1358, the Parisian bourgeoisie experienced a political and economic crisis which changed the nature of the relationship between the échevinal families and the royal court. By 1383, the right of Paris to a municipal government had been revoked following the Maillotins revolt, and, while the municipal government was reestablished in 1412, it took on a different character.[27] Not only do references to *échevins* participating in public festivals become scarcer as Paris experienced urban violence, but the families that had been in power from the late-thirteenth through mid-fourteenth century begin to change.

The primary sources in this project are mainly textual and include chronicles written by Parisians, royal chronicles, Pierre Gencien's Ladies' Tournament poem, and archival collections of royal documents mentioning *échevins* by name. In order to study the public identities of Parisian men, I rely first on descriptions of festivals, royal entries, and processions. Moments of public display, such as jousts staged by the bourgeois of Paris or processions in which they participated, provide key points at which to analyze

[27] Simone Roux, *Paris in the Middle Ages,* 59.

their appropriation of noble forms of identity to create their particular urban one. The *Chronique Parisienne Anonyme,* in particular, details several instances of jousts organized by the bourgeois of Paris during which *échevins* and their sons compete against each other and men from other French cities. The *Chronique Métrique,* attributed to Geoffrey of Paris, devotes significant space to a description of a citywide Pentecostal procession in 1313 with special mention of the Parisian elite. Through a close reading of the form of jousts and processions themselves, as well as a comparison to noble culture of the time, it becomes possible to identify what sort of claims the patriciate of Paris made to both social and gender identity in relation to the aristocratic forms they invoked. Sources like the *Grandes Chroniques de France,* while less focused on individual Parisians than on a royal history of France, detail several instances of royal entries into Paris where the *échevins* played a role.

Sources from a Parisian milieu are especially helpful in establishing the identities of Parisian *échevins*. In addition to the *Chronique Parisienne Anonyme* (1332), the poem "Tournoiement as Dames" (1270) by Pierre Gencien, was written by a bourgeois of Paris. In the poem, Gencien dreams up a tournament of ladies, who in this case are mostly the wives, daughters, or sisters of his fellow bourgeois of Paris. As a literary source, it attests both to the culture and education of a member of the patriciate and to ideas about gender and status held by the Parisian elite, despite its fanciful subject matter. This poem fits into a longer tradition of ladies' tournaments but is unique in featuring women from outside the nobility.[28] Finally, I rely on archival collections of royal and municipal documents

[28] Helen Solterer, "Figures of Female Militancy in Medieval France," *Signs* 16, no. 3 (1991): 541.

that mention *échevins* by name and status to define the language they and royal administrators used to define the class.

The literature and chronicles written by and about the elite men who are the focus of this project form the main sources I analyze for the gendered presentation of the Parisian elite. Language invoking both class and gender in these sources is key to determining the distinct identity of the *échevins* in relation to the rest of the city and to the nobility. By mobilizing a diverse set of tools to analyze these texts, from gender theory to a consideration of lineage and heraldry, this project constructs a detailed image of the masculinity and social status of the Parisian patriciate.

Masters of the city

The *échevins*, by virtue of their economic success, enjoyed political mastery over the municipal government of Paris as well as positions in the royal bureaucracy centered in the capital. Their social and gender identity as a result was enabled by their wealth and their power. Their political control over the city as well as their proximity to the royal court allowed them to access some part of the hegemonic definition of masculinity that involved domination. Furthermore, they tied their identity to the status of Paris itself, taking pride in its size, beauty, and success, and they portrayed themselves as the representatives of what they considered the ideal city. The concept of urban citizenship in the middle ages already rested on the exclusion of most of the population of the city, and the Parisian patriciate further defined themselves as elite by aligning themselves against most Parisians.

As the urban elite, the *échevins* considered themselves members of the city of Paris while maintaining a definition of bourgeois citizen that separated them from the majority of the city. The first rhetorical task in defining an elite social identity for the Parisian grand bourgeoisie was to distinguish themselves from urban laborers and the urban poor in order to cement their honorable status. The language of both the anonymous prose chronicle and the metrical chronicle defines at least two separate groups of Parisian men and ascribes more rational agency to the men of higher class. Despite all being Parisians, there was little cohesion between different groups of men, with a particular opposition drawn between the "bourgeois" and the "menu peuple." The *Chronique Parisienne Anonyme* covers the events of the first thirty years of the fourteenth century with particularly detailed descriptions of the situation in Paris. While the anonymous chronicler sometimes uses "bourgeois" in a general sense to indicate anyone living in Paris, he most often separates them from the masses of the "menu peuple," from whom the *échevins* were distinguished by their wealth and their rational qualities.

For example, in 1326, the "bourgeois of Paris" wanted to increase the rent for the "menu peuple, those being spice vendors, tavern-owners, and other shopkeepers."[29] In protest, the "menu peuple" proceeded to riot, become drunk and destroy goods and houses "to their great shame and the destruction of their own bodies."[30] The association of women with the body in medieval literature has been well-established, and men whom chroniclers want to categorize as "not-men" often receive the same treatment.[31]

---

[29] Alexandre Hellot, *Chronique parisienne anonyme du XIVe siècle* (Nogent le Rotrou: Daupeley-Gouverneur, 1884) 18. All translations are my own.
[30] Hellot, *Chronique parisienne,* 20.
[31] Farmer, "The Beggar's Body," 1-2.

Furthermore, by associating them with the emotion of shame, a common way to question the masculinity of men across all strata of medieval society, the chronicler distances them from the true men: the very patricians who were the targets of their riot. The fact that the author notes their drunkenness–on wine stolen from the house of a merchant–is certainly a critique of their overindulgence and could indicate that they were not real men in command of their desires. In this instance, the "menu peuple" are described as an uncontrollable unit, characterized by the large amounts of damage they ended up causing.[32]

Urban men of a lower social status tended to be described as a group whose actions lack rationality and border on bestial. The author of this chronicle belonged to a more privileged social status and thus defined the working poor man as inferior. Even the shopkeepers and masters of their own establishments who would have been considered official citizens of Paris, unlike the beggars and vagabonds defined even more sharply by their bodies, were differentiated from the highest classes of Parisian society.[33] By contrast, the bourgeois and especially the *preudommes* were characterized by a higher social standing, greater respect and a larger agency ascribed to their actions. The term *preudomme*, from the combination of *preu* (prudent, good) and *homme* (man), can be translated as meaning a prudent or noble man, not in the sense of hereditary nobility but

---

[32] For more detailed discussions of the relationship of loss of self-control and shame to masculinity, see Lucien Faggion, ed., *L'Humiliation Droit, récits et représentations (xiie-xxie siècles)*, POLEN - Pouvoirs, lettres, normes 15 (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2019), Hugh M. Thomas, "Shame, Masculinity, and the Death of Thomas Becket," *Speculum* 87, no. 4 (October 1, 2012): 1050–88, and Yelena Mazour- Matusevich, "Late Medieval Control of Masculinity. Jean Gerson," *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 98, no.3–4 (December 2003): 418–37.

[33] On the non- masculinity of and bodily disgust evinced toward the urban poor, see Sharon Farmer, "TheBeggar's Body: Intersections of Gender and Social Status in High Medieval Paris," in *Monks and Nuns, Saints and Outcasts: Religion in Medieval Society*, ed. Barbara Rosenwein (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2018): 153–71.

rather a man of honor.[34] The anonymous chronicler in several places draws a distinction between the "bourgeoiz" or "echevin" whose actions he discusses and the litany of Parisians he names by their separate professions.[35] The perspective of this particular chronicler differs from that of other authors: for some, the population of Paris would have made up a single unit in contrast to the clergy and nobility.[36] The fact that a source close to the elite of Paris and intimately tied to the city drew the divide not in terms of noble status but based on wealth and power within the city borrows from the categories used by the *échevins* rather than the social distinctions made by the nobility.

Studies of forms of medieval urban masculinity in other cities focus on the hierarchical relationship between apprentice and master, or full member of a guild.[37] The idea of a "mercantile-based version of masculinity" most visible in the later medieval period, links masculine power to the economic power the urban elite were uniquely able to wield.[38] On a daily basis, like members of guilds or artisans, the *échevins* of Paris could compete with other men not through exhibitions of violence or prowess, but through their acquisition of economic and political power. The difference between the mercantile or guild versions of masculinity described in cities such as York or Montpellier and the identities of the *échevins* of Paris is tied up with their proximity to royal power as well as the degree of chivalric performance to which they aspired.

---

[34] "preu," in Frédéric Eugène Godefroy, ed., *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous sesdialectes du 9e au 15e siècle* (Paris F. Vieweg, 1881), 400-403.
[35] *Chronique Parisienne Anonyme*, 17-18, 36, 121.
[36] See Eustache Deschamps, "Lay des douzes etats du monde" (Saint-Hilaire, Paris, 1878-1903) or Susan J.Dudash, "Christine De Pizan and the "Menu Peuple"." *Speculum* 78, no. 3 (2003): 788-831.
[37] See Karras, "Masters and Men," in *From Boys to Men*, 109-150; Christina M. Fitzgerald, "Manning theArk in York and Chester," Exemplaria, 15:2, 351-384; and Corinne Wieben, "Virtú" in *Rivalrous Masculinities*.
[38] Pigg, "Urban Life and Its Discontents" in *Imagining Urban Life and its Discontents*, 397.

Because Paris had no lord other than the king, the elite of Paris could leverage their relationship to the central government of France for special recognition and privileges.

To a greater extent than the elite of other French cities, Parisian *échevins* enjoyed unique access to favor from the king in addition to their positions in royal administration. In the struggle for dominance there, the *échevins* and their family members competed mainly with lower members of the nobility. The employment of *échevins* in royal administrative roles or in the *parlement* of Paris rested partially on their wealth and the assumption that because of their success that they were able to manage affairs well.[39] In royal documents from between 1320 and 1340 which granted *échevins* and their relations positions in royal administration, the formula for doing so refers to their "good grace and reputation," as well as their status as a *preudomme*.[40] For the patriciate of Paris, the qualities of wealth, prudence, and honor were inextricably linked to their masculinity and to the perception their peers would have had of their status. The wealth which provided them with economic and then political power also became a signal of their prudence and their ability to serve the royal court. In addition to maneuvering amongst each other for economic success, the men of the Parisian elite acted on a larger political stage as well. Beyond proximity to the royal court, the *échevins* were able to leverage their wealth into recognition that they were uniquely suited to speak for the entire city of Paris. Despite representing a fraction of the population, much of their public identity rested on identifying the *échevins* with the royal capital itself.

---

[39] See Bove, *Dominer la ville*, 293-312, in which he undertakes an analysis of the careers of forty échevinalfamilies over a 75 year period, and argues that the majority of their positions and tasks in administration related to their experience and success as merchants. Very few of them, for example, were able to take on purely political tasks.

[40] Jules Viard, *Documents parisiens du règne de Philippe VI de Valois* (University of Michigan Library,2009), 293, 302, 310, 352, 433.

In accounts of royal entries, symbolic encounters between the king and the city, the Parisian patriciate adopt the role of representatives of the bourgeois of Paris as a whole. Medieval processions, when individuals came together in a uniform group, have long been analyzed for symbolic meanings in the way they move through space and time and what message they have been calculated to present. Many of the descriptions of entries of the king into Paris come from the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, a compilation of the history of France written in the vernacular but commissioned by the monarchy, or from ecclesiastical sources. As such, their mentions of the bourgeois of Paris in the procession as a whole place the patriciate within a very particular social order and emphasize the role of royal entries in reaffirming the pomp and power of the monarch. While the *Grandes Chroniques* do not single out individual wealthy Parisians, it is clear that in the form of corporations they displayed their personality as a social group through rituals and symbolic dress. Furthermore, the construction of the entry ceremony as a whole was as a dialogue between the king and the legal entity of Paris, represented by the *échevins*.

The ceremony of royal entry involved processions out of the city to greet the king, followed by the entry into the city, and in Paris, the reception of a king would occur after his coronation at Reims. The procession out of the city was made up of the Parisian elite: the *prêvot des marchands*, officials of the government at the *Hotel de Ville*, and the *échevins*. As of 1360, descriptions of royal entries mention the use of a canopy held over the king by a few of the *échevins*, and the practice may have begun in Paris earlier and is certainly attested elsewhere.[41] In an illumination by Jean Fouquet depicting the entry of

[41] János M Bak, ed., *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual* (Berkeley: University ofCalifornia Press, 1990), 89.

Jean le Bon into Paris in 1350, the king is greeted outside the traditional Gate of St. Denis by the kneeling figures of the *échevins* and guildmasters as the procession makes its way inside the city walls (Figure 1).[42] As a royally commissioned depiction from over a century after the events, Fouquet uses his contemporary understanding of royal entries and décor, but accurately captures the process of the ritual. The figures in the background of the greeting likely represent other citizens of Paris who had exited the Gate of St. Martin to watch the entry returning by the same route who are differentiated clearly from the *échevins* who greet the king and will later enter the city with him. Here, the elite of Paris are already set apart by the ritual as both physically close to the monarch and capable of negotiating on behalf of the city as a whole.

In the performance of royal entries, the *échevins* appear as a distinct group not only empowered to speak on behalf of the city but also as the city itself even as their importance to the legal identity of the city obscures the desires of most of its citizens. In the description of the same entry in the royal chronicle, the *échevins* go directly before the king into the city, following a celebratory crowd dancing and playing instruments.[43] They wear full "robes (costumes)" that distinguish them from other groups mentioned by the chronicler, notably the Lombards who, while present in the city, are figured as distinct from the body of Parisian citizenry. Even in this description of a royal entry, focusing on the royal history of France, the chronicler presents the Parisian patricians as a group with the power to represent and speak on behalf of the entire city. In speeches before the parlement of Paris, the *échevins* often appear not only as the only men present empowered to speak on behalf of the city, but also as leaders of communes across France.

---

[42] BNF MS Fr. 6465, fol. 417.
[43] *Chronique Des Règnes de Jean II et de Charles V*, vol. 1, 4 vols. (Paris: H. Laurens, 1910), 47.

In 1314, in a discussion about funding the Flemish war, Etienne Barbette, "bourgeois of Paris, rose and spoke for the City, and presented himself for it, putting himself at the disposal of the king."[44] Following his speech, the chronicler notes that all the other "preudomes" present gave their own assent. As a parliamentary record kept by a secretary for Enguerran de Marigny, Philip IV's chamberlain, there is some interest in recording the quickest possible assent to the king's request. However, the position occupied by Barbette as the only bourgeois named, and a one recognized by the record as a leader of the city of Paris and of the men from other cities, established his identity both in the Parisian context and before men who came representing all of France.

Without overestimating the power of the *échevins* in royal affairs, certain instances affirm their particular importance as leaders of the capital city. As argued by Gordon Kipling, royal entries presented an occasion for the symbolic reaffirmation of the link between the king and the citizens of a city in general. [45] In the case of Paris the ties between bourgeois and monarchy appear quite close both during the pageantry of royal entries and outside of symbolic performance. Royal entries took place after the transition of power from one monarch to another, an event that in some cases could involve anxiety about the succession. The proximity of the bourgeois to power, by virtue of their wealth and role in governing the royal city, allowed them to leverage their relationship with the royal court for opportunities to aggrandize themselves.

In 1328, the ascension of Philip VI, the first king from the House of Valois, was marked by a crisis over succession, as Charles IV died without direct heirs. In this contest

---

[44] Charles Victor, ed., *Documents Inédits de Guillaume de Plaisans* (Paris: Klinksciek, 1908), 492.
[45] Gordon Kipling, *Enter the King. Theatre, Liturgy and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph* (Oxford:Oxford University Press, 1998), 54.

over succession which would eventually begin the Hundred Years' War, Philip VI had the support of the nobility but also of the *échevins* of Paris, whom the anonymous prose chronicler calls "les quieux le rechurent a roy (those who chose him as king)."[46] The favor of the *échevins* to Philip VI was repaid when the bourgeois of Paris, represented by a few elites, asked the king for permission to organize a joust in the city of Paris. While the request to bear arms within the city might normally be met with skepticism, Philip allowed it because "the bourgeois and all the people of Paris used their authority to recognize him as lord." The recognition of their political power in affirming the monarch's right to rule establishes the unique place of the *échevins* in fourteenth century France which they could then translate into a singular cultural identity. The permission to joust also relied upon the condition that the *échevins* would do so "without causing an uprising of the people."[47] The division in the royal order between the *échevins*, leaders of the city, and "the people" of Paris also serves as a reminder of the social division the jousts put on display between those with the means to participate and the mass of people who spectated.

Later in the fourteenth century, the ties between the king and the Parisian elite were threatened as the provost of merchants, Etienne Marcel, led an urban revolt against royal spending. Though he of course still claimed to be loyal to the true king, Marcel set himself up against the dauphin's royal authority. During the peasant and rural uprisings of the Jacquerie from 1357-58, Marcel wrote letters to the other "bonnes villes," or royal cities, of France in order to build a network of urban support for his own revolt. He first

---

[46] Alexandre Hellot, ed., *Chronique Parisienne Anonyme Du XIVe Siècle* (Nogent le Rotrou: ImprimerieDaupeley-Gouverneur, 1884), 175.

[47] "Lez bourgeoiz et tout le peuple de Paris de leur auctorite le rechurent a seigneur… leur octroya leurfeste a faire sans esmouvoir le peuple," Hellot, ed., *Chronique Parisienne Anonyme*, 137.

explicitly distinguished his motives from the peasants rioting in the countryside, and he urged men in other cities to demonstrate their allegiance to his camp in Paris by wearing Parisian "caps colored half red and half blue."[48] His presentation of the Parisian cause sharply distinguished it from the men he characterized as popular, irrational mobs filled with the urban poor whose masculinity was thus thrown into question. He and his supporters possessed "good reason and a just cause," in contrast to their opponents in the aristocracy who were "of infamous nature and ill repute."[49] By focusing on qualities of reason and honor, Marcel provided an image of how the ideal Parisian merchant should conduct himself and desire to be perceived throughout the kingdom. It was the enemies of the people of Paris, their armies and their aristocratic leaders, who threatened the "young girls with corruption" and "gentle wives" with rape.[50] Invoking these threats to women further ostracized his opponents from any sort of honorable masculine ideal. Throughout the letter, Marcel emphasizes both the fact that his wealth and success rested on an honorable nature, a good knowledge of the financial world, and his ability to speak for the true citizens of Paris. Even in this moment of urban revolt, Marcel attempted to tie the identity and honor of the city of Paris itself to the small group of *échevins* who supported him in order to garner support from other cities.

Etienne Marcel's efforts to both portray himself as the spokesman of a united Paris and to appeal to a wider urban network invoke the modern historiographical problem of urban unity. Marcel explicitly made claims about "Parisian" unity of political purpose, even as histories of his revolt show that he and his échevinal allies ended up

---

[48] "chapperons partis de rouge et de pers," *Chronique des règnes de Jean II et de Charles V*, p.130.
[49] "Lettre d'Etienne Marcel aux communes de Picardie et de Flandre," in Lettenhove, *Oeuvres de Froissart*,vol. 6, 470-71.
[50] "Lettre d'Etienne Marcel," 469.

very much alone. The status that the *échevins* could maintain in claiming to speak for a unified city, however, was crucial to their own maintenance of dominance. As argued by Franz Arlinghaus in the context of Braunschweig, processions in which the entire city participated could foster a temporary feeling of unity even as they communicated the diversity of the groups that made up the city.[51] He found that specifically religious performances could be used to display the identity of a community and emphasize the unity of the entire city. In the case of the Parisian Pentecostal procession of 1313, for example, the chronicler emphasized the path of the unified and peaceful crowd of urbanites through the entire city of Paris in a physical journey meant to display a united civic body even as he singled the *échevins* out for special attention. This idea of a unified city, though not borne out in practice or in daily life, was crucial to the ability of the Parisian elite to claim for themselves the role of masters of the city of Paris, a particularly covetable role because of the way they defined the city itself.

The language used about Paris by the bourgeois and those in their milieu constantly reinforces the idea that Paris as a city holds unique status. In 1330, the bourgeois of Paris decided to hold a tournament after taunts from other cities that Paris "did not dare to host a public festival."[52] By ascribing cowardice not to an individual but to a collective urban unit, this rhetoric both mobilizes chivalric tropes about honor and applies them to a taunt against a city, represented only by those wealthy enough to host a joust. Then, the rationale given by the "preudommes" of the city in their request to the king was that they wished to "honor Paris as the sun of France, as the image of the three

---

[51] Franz Arlinghaus, "The Myth of Urban Unity: Religion and Social Performance in Late MedievalBraunschweig," (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2010).
[52] Hellot, *Chronique parisienne,* 135

fleur de lis of the kingdom of France, itself superior to all other kingdoms."[53] The language of the anonymous chronicle describing urban jousts makes very clear that the Parisian patriciate link their own identities to this idea of Paris. The aggrandizement of Paris here serves to honor its elite as they plan for this tournament that will also allow them to display their individual prowess. Not only then did the *échevins* represent an entire city, allowing them to display their power and wealth, but they spoke for the ideal city in the superior kingdom.

The identity and masculinity that the *échevins* constructed for themselves lay somewhere in between the masculinity of a master artisan, which depended on his skill, wealth and honor, and the trappings of chivalric culture to which their enormous wealth allowed the *échevins* to aspire. The elite of Paris understood quite well how to mobilize chivalric ideas about masculinity and had the wealth to borrow those aspects of the nobility in order to aggrandize themselves before the city of Paris and the presence of the king and court. In both of these public instances, while the *échevins* borrow trappings of noble status, they neither mingle with nobles nor truly compete with them for status. The true locus of competition between a man from the grand bourgeoisie of Paris and a noble would have been the competition between petty nobles and *échevins* for administrative positions.[54]

While exposed to noble culture and aware of the power of letters of nobility, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Parisian elite for the most part did not attempt in a widespread and systematic fashion to leverage their wealth and proximity to the king

[53] Hellot, *Chronique Parisienne,* 136
[54] See "X: La politique," in Bove, *Dominer la ville*; and Raymond Cazelles, *Nouvelle histoire de Paris, dela fin du règne de Philippe Auguste à la mort de Charles V, 1223-1380.* (Paris: Diffusion Hachette, 1972).

into entrance into the hereditary nobility. While proving a lack of volition rather than a lack of ability to enter into the nobility is likely not possible, the small number of ennoblements suggests that it was at least a possibility for the bourgeois. The salient point is that these men negotiated proximity to the royal court with some level of rivalry with the nobility while maintaining value on an urban identity instead of wholesale assimilating into the nobility in the fourteenth century. Royal favor alone seems to have been enough for many of the families of the grand bourgeoisie.

Among the class of men who ran the city of Paris, proximity to the king served as a major lever of status and families displayed their royal connections prominently. By 1304, the Gencien family's coat of arms included the French *fleur de lis*, in gratitude for services rendered to the king.[55] The practice of using a seal or heraldry to identify a Parisian patrician family, and to make specific claims about their public status, had already begun by the beginning of the fourteenth century as the patriciate adopted a much older noble practice. Further, in the poem "Tournoiement as Dames," one of the means of identification of the bourgeois women of Paris is by their blazons. While on its own this might be a literary effort to link the urbanites further to noble culture, the existence of actual seals gives weight to claims that certain échevinal families valued heraldry and lineage. The relationship between the development of an iconographic language of heraldry and the masculinity of the Parisian elite calls back to the importance of inheritance and a familial identity for medieval men. Heraldry, unlike the actual political

[55] The heraldry pictured in BNF Ms. Fr. 11746, is a collection by Jacques-Louis Chevillard, completed in 1702. In *Dominer la Ville,* Boris Bove undertook a longform comparison of the armorial to contemporary sources, both extant seals and literary or historical descriptions of the seals and coats of arms and found thatall but two of Chevillard's illustrations were accurate. For my references to the seals of the échevins of Paris which are not available as images, I rely on Bove's archival work and analysis.

positions of the Parisian elite, passes through generations, allowing Parisian men to establish a lineage analogous to that of a fourteenth century title.

The naming practices of the *échevins*, as recorded in chronicles and royal records, began to stabilize at the beginning of the fourteenth century as well. Parisians in general adopted the use of patronyms in order to identify themselves.[56] Elite Parisians also took up the practice, seen frequently in noble lineages, of choosing a few first family names: the Gencien sons are named Pierre or Jean, the Barbeittes use Etienne or Guillaume, the Arrodes chose Nicolas or Jean and the Marcels adopt Pierre or Etienne, for example. In a particular illustration of the status of the Gencien family, the marriage of Jean Tristan, a chamberlain to Philippe Auguste, to Isabelle Gencien in 1280 led to a long line of sons named Gencien Tristan.[57] Rather than marriages between the nobility and the *échevins*, marriages tended to take place among the Parisian elite itself, suggesting that these men valued their status as Parisians more than efforts to marry into noble families. The name Gencien in particular appears as a signal demonstrating the alliance between several Parisian families and the wealthy Genciens: sons named Gencien belong to the families of the Tristans, the Marcels, Le Flaments, and Cocatrixes.[58]

By the middle of the fourteenth century, despite borrowing cultural signifiers of nobility, the *échevins* of Paris did not establish their own noble lineages. Instead, some of the elite acquired letters of nobility from the king or purchased fiefs outside of Paris and maintained their own status as noble bourgeois men who did not necessarily transmit that status to their children. The following men received letters of nobility from the king: Jean

---

[56] Jean Favier, *Bourgeois de Paris,* 122.
[57] Jules Viard, *Documents parisiens du règne de Philippe de Valois*, 356.
[58] Hellot, *Chronique Parisienne Anonyme*; Pierre Gencien, *Le Tornoiement as Dames de Paris.PoemettoAntico Francese Di Pierre Gencien,* (Perugia, 1917), 245; Viard, *Documents parisiens*, 241.

Haudri (1321), Arnoul Braque (1339), Adam de Dammartin (1340), and Jean Pizdoe (1345).[59] These men were all either *prévôt* of the merchants of Paris or serving as an *échevin*. In the decrees made by the king, he cites the loyalty and services provided by these men that he loves. However, even these new members of the nobility did not give up either their roles as *échevins* of Paris or their identity as Parisians. In the case of Jean Haudri, subsequent references to him in both chronicles and in royal documents still refer to him as a "bourgeois de Paris" or a "preudomme," but not as a "noble homme" or "monseigneur."[60] Instead of using the letters to set themselves up as nobles living on their lands outside of Paris, the *échevins* mainly continued to live as urbanites.

The final means of entry or association with the nobility, marriage, shows a similar lack of systematic effort to unite noble and échevinal families. In Boris Bove's analysis of the marriages of *échevins* and their families, he finds relatively few alliances between bourgeois and noble lineages: before 1350 there is only one marriage between Jeanne Sarrasin and the baron Oudart de Villiers, and after 1350, he observes only a few more.[61]It is possible that because the most readily available alliances to the *échevins* were with families of the petty nobility, the small number of alliances can be explained by the competition between petty nobles and *échevins* for positions in administration. Despite the relative reluctance of the elite to leave their urban identities behind, they did not demonstrate the same reluctance in adopting cultural or performative practices that associated them closely with the nobility.

---

[59] Jules Viard, *Documents parisiens* 214, 223, 251, 268, 369.
[60] Hellot, *Chronique Parisienne Anonyme*, and Viard, *Documents parisiens de Philippe de Valois*.
[61] Bove, *Dominer la ville*, 587.

In the fourteenth century, even the *échevins* of Paris who were ennobled did not renounce their rights or duties as Parisians, instead preferring to accumulate privileges and maintain their urban identity. Either through a sense of urban pride, or through the sufficient attraction of Parisian privileges, rather than attempt to integrate themselves into the nobility, the *échevins* sought to increase the privileges available to them as citizens of Paris. By 1371, Charles V accorded Parisians the right not to pay the taille on the lands they had acquired in response to a petition in which the *échevins* asked for privileges that "belonged to the order of the knights… and to carry arms like those with a noble lineage."[62] Their argument reminded the king that "his royal city, chief among all others… in dignity and honor" deserved the distinction they requested. In this effort to align themselves with the nobility without actually officially or legally becoming ennobled, the *échevins* rely on their relationship to the monarchy and invoke an idea of urban pride in the city of Paris.

Rather than attempt to merge with the hegemonic class of nobles, an option that became more available towards the end of the fourteenth century, the Parisian elite maintained the value of their status as urban leaders. They created a definition of their own masculine identity that was valuable enough for them to take pride in before both the royal court and men from other cities in France. In doing so, however, they were able to understand and mobilize chivalric tropes and culture, demonstrating both their proximity to noble culture and the wealth that allowed them to define a different version of a mercantile masculinity.

---

[62] Letter of August 9, 1371, edited in Raymond Cazelles, *Nouvelle histoire de Paris, de la fin du règne dePhilippe Auguste à la mort de Charles V, 1223-1380.* (Paris: Diffusion Hachette, 1972), p. 490-495.

A Dream of Chivalry: Pierre Gencien's "Tournoiement as Dames"

The "Tournoiement as Dames" (1270), a poem written by Pierre Gencien, *échevin* of Paris, provides an early illustration of the urban appropriation of chivalric tropes as well as a rich site for gendered analysis. Pierre Gencien's dream of jousting women both conforms to aristocratic traditions of the form of tournaments or literature describing them and also jars convention by giving the central roles not only to women but to bourgeois, non-noble, women. His poem also was written in a context of the Parisian elite demonstrating a greater interest in and ability to stage tournaments in reality themselves. According to Jacques LeGoff, by the thirteenth century, the tournament had turned from a venue for permissible bloodletting to a showcase for aristocratic society.[63] As described in the anonymous Parisian chronicle, urban tournaments took on a similar role for the *échevins* of Paris, who took the opportunity to publicly prove themselves in combats that could gain them honor but also that were inscribed in a story whose conventions were set by chivalric traditions.

In accounts of male-fought tournaments, the presence of women was key to establishing the winner and also often lends an erotic charge to the endeavor as a whole. In this case, the women joust, and the one watching and judging them is only the poet, Gencien himself. Gencien excepted, the presence of men occurs obliquely through the relationships of the jousting women to Gencien's contemporaries as well as in the masculinized descriptions of the women themselves. The poem brings several ways of thinking about its social and cultural importance: first, Gencien's place within the elite of Paris demonstrates the importance of chivalric tropes in establishing a new urban identity

[63] Jacques LeGoff, *Medieval Civilization*, trans. J. Barrow, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988), 345-48.

as well as references to actual families within that elite, and second it begs the question of what a poem evoking non-noble female militancy is doing in relation to the men it mentions.

Within the poem, Gencien demonstrates his immersion in chivalric literature and tropes by adhering to the structure of an aristocratic tournament and invoking the same language used to describe masculine combat and sometimes by borrowing directly from *chansons de geste* or chivalric romances. Gencien takes on the role of herald, taking great care to introduce each combatant with either her name or her relationship to an important man, a detailed description of her clothing and any heraldry, and praising her eventual feats of arms. Outside of the fact that the combatants are women, the descriptions of opponents preparing to confront each other, charging and eventually breaking their lances could be from a description of any tournament fought by noblemen. These women are thus imagined capable of all the feats of strength that would be expected of a man in a tournament. Rather than riding a "palefroi," the lightweight riding horse often given to women in literature and in their participation in the ceremony of tournaments, these women ride the warhorses of a medieval knight, the "destrier."[64] The traditional ideology of victory and defeat, in which the honorable victor claims the horse of the leader, also appears in Gencien's poem.

His poem also fits neatly into a chivalric literary genre, complete with exaggerations of the "many great marvels of which I have never seen the like."[65] In some ways, Gencien attempts to place his women within two overlapping ideals of conduct: that of the valiant knight as well as that of the beautiful lady, normally left the position of

[64] Gencien, "Tournoiement as Dames de Paris," 41.
[65] Gencien, "Tournoiement as Dames de Paris" 665-66. Translations are my own.

judging male prowess and being looked at by men.[66] The ladies who participate in the tournament are held up as models of aristocratic virtues: courtesy, beauty, and the value of "prouesse"[67] so associated with masculine knightly prowess and proven in combat. In addition to a lexical similarity to noble literature, Gencien borrows outright from several texts with which he must be familiar. In a moment of flattering comparison for his imagined women, he observes that "Roland… killed by treason" would not have been in danger had "your company included ladies of such faith and vigor."[68] Gencien can clearly mobilize allusions to stories that would have been well known. As examined by Bénédicte Milland in her study of several poems in the Ladies' Tournament genre, the literary nature of the comedy here relies on the audience's pleasure in knowing the references of their author.[69]

In a comic but not caustic moment, Gencien also quotes directly from medieval court poet Chrétien de Troyes' "Conte du Graal" when he opens the poem with his encounter with an armed woman riding past on the road. The sequence of questions is almost identical to Perceval's meeting with five knights before he sets out on his quest to find the Holy Grail. The woman responds, "Nenil, sire, ce ne puet estre / Que fame puist ansin nester." ("No, sir, that is impossible, as no woman could be born this way.") [70] The

---

[66] Even the aesthetics he adopts, notably the contrast between the white robes of several of the ladies andthe red flush of their cheeks or of their clothing, fit directly into patterns established by a larger corpus ofmedieval literature. See Edgar de Bruyne, *Etudes d'esthétique médiévale: Le XIIIe siècle. III*. Slatkine Reprints, 1975.

[67] "cortois, courtoisie," Gencien, "Tournoiement as Dames de Paris," 308, 416, 671, 742, 787; "bel, beauté," Gencien, "Tournoiement as Dames de Paris," 417, 712, 783, 909; "prouesse" Gencien,"Tournoiement as Dames de Paris," 973, 1104.

[68] Gencien, "Tournoiement as Dames de Paris," 1623-1626.

[69] Bénédicte Milland-Bove, "Lectures croisées du Tournoiement as Dames de Paris. de Pierre Gencien,"*Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes. Journal of medieval and humanistic studies*, no. 14 spécial (June 30, 2007): 259–75.

[70] Gencien, "Tournoiement as Dames de Paris," 68-78.

original response to Perceval was "Nenil, vallez, ce ne puet estre / Que nule riens puise ansin nester." ("No, varlet, that is impossible, as no one could be born this way.") [71] There are two significant differences in the exchange: the first is that Gencien names himself more respectfully, as "sire" rather than "vallez," than Chrétien named Perceval and the second being the emphasis that no woman, rather than no man, could be born with armor on.

The genre of ladies' tournaments represents a reversal of the traditional direction of the gaze of women towards men. Both tournaments and the subsection of ladies tournaments are well-developed genres in chivalric literature being used here to idealize the Parisian elite and place them alongside aristocratic culture. Gencien's imagined Ladies' Tournament is part of a collection of similar poems and fabliaux that imagine women staging tournaments instead of men. In examples that feature noblewomen, however, there is a clear satirical target.[72] An anonymous poem featuring another ladies' tournament from 1260 begins,

> A cel tens que chevalerie/ est par tout le monde perie,/ que nus n'ose mes tornoier/ tant sont couart li chevalier,/ Que les dames en sont hardies… Grant despit en ont entr'aus pris/ Les dames qui sont de grant pris.
> (In times when chivalry is rotting everywhere in the world, and knights are so cowardly that no one dares to stage a tournament anymore, women are the hardy and courageous ones… the best women held their men in contempt.)[73]

After the king had forbidden tournaments, the author of this poem wrote to upbraid noblemen for refusing to joust by invoking the fear of female militancy and threatening the men with this inversion of the social order. This voice much more clearly expresses

---

[71] Chrétien de Troyes, *Le Roman de Perceval :Ou, Le Conte Du Graal,* 2. éd. (Geneva, 1959), 282-283.
[72] See Helen Solterer, "Figures of Female Militancy in Medieval France," *Signs* 16, no. 3 (1991): 522–49. [73] "Le Tournoiement aus Dames," anonymous version dated 1261 from Dominique Méon, *Nouveau recueilde fabliaux et contes inédits des poètes français des XIIe, XIIIe, XIVe et XVe siècles*, (Chasseriau, 1823), 324-348. Translation my own.

alarm over the fact that the cowardice of men and knights would lead women to take their place and disdain their men. Gencien's poem, with its double inversion of social order, could have a similar satirical target, but he did not express alarm at the cowardice of Parisian men. Gencien, while noting that women are not born in armor, demonstrates much less obvious distress at the idea of women fighting, instead casting himself in a role of a loving observer of the tournament.

While noble masculinity relied upon dominance of other men through combat, the *échevins* of Paris had no interest in adopting that real strain of aristocratic identity. Where poems describing noble ladies who were brave enough to do battle imply cowardice on the part of their husbands, Gencien's criticism of the men of Paris would not be for their lack of skill at arms because they did not tie their masculine pride into military successes. Instead, the masculinity of Parisian men, while aware of a relationship to chivalric tropes, relied on their wealth and political power as well as their embeddedness in the city of Paris. Throughout the poem, when Gencien does reference his male peers, it comes with a sort of praise on behalf of their richly appareled and impressive wives.

Gencien's poem is not only concerned with providing literary portraits that fit the women he describes neatly into a genre of chivalric literature with a somewhat distant relationship to reality. Though his descriptions of female beauty often line up with the erotic gaze found in chivalric literature, the poem also refers to real women and occasionally provides realistic portraits of their bourgeois husbands and relatives. As a work that invoked the identities of real members of elite Parisian society, Gencien likely intended his poem to be disseminated to the men and women he referenced.[74] The

[74] Milland-Bove, "Lectures croisées du Tournoiement as Dames de Paris de Pierre Gencien."

description of the wife of Etienne de Grève notes that she "had rarely been seen because of her husband/ by any men born from a mother."[75] Moments like this that reference well-known characteristics, here the likely legendary jealousy of a husband, anchor Gencien's dream in the real Paris of 1270 and implicate listeners in a particular social fabric. This is as close as Gencien comes to an explicitly negative judgment about one of his real peers throughout the poem.

There may, however, be an awareness of the tension caused by this imagined inversion of the social order. One woman, standing in for the allegory of Nobility, "keeps up her appearance much more carefully than any other woman" and often refuses to go outside without an immaculate dress.[76] The quality of nobility, as presented by a bourgeois wife, could become a light criticism of the way in which women aspire to nobility in dress and airs without actually rivaling the women of the aristocracy. The bourgeois women play at nobility, but only within a dream within which the poet can play with the distance between presenting the nobility of the women and acknowledging the lack of noble status they enjoy in reality. The frequent use of the descriptor "noblement" throughout the poem, however, functions as a legitimate praise of the skill and beauty of the women of Paris. If the entire poem were a negative judgment on the participants, it would be difficult to explain the prominent presence of Gencien's own family: in introducing his sister-in-law Marie, he notes cheekily that she is related to "some of the most *preu* (valiant, honorable) men in the world."[77]

---

[75] Gencien, "Tournoiement as Dames," 821-824.
[76] Gencien, "Tournoiement as Dames," 285-289.
[77] Gencien, "Tournoiement as Dames," 973-977.

Gencien valorizes the bourgeois of Paris through his descriptions of their wives. Instead of the other poems in the genres of Ladies' Tournaments that criticize male aristocrats for failing to fight, Gencien's poem operates in a register that understands that the true pride of a good échevin would have rested in their profession, their wealth, and the beauty of their city. While the focus of the poem is the tournament, Gencien spends a great deal of energy describing the riches of the bourgeois of Paris and praising their taste for splendor. Just as the bourgeois in the Pentecostal procession used their wealth to display themselves and flaunt their status, Gencien notes that these women possess "nobility of appearance which displays itself in a way that many other ladies cannot."[78] Gencien's value of the appearance of the women over even their skill in the tournament, possibly due to their gender, often focuses on their armor, coats of arms, and general splendor. The women are "well-bred," "neat," and "tastefully dressed" as much as they are "rich" and mounted on warhorses "covered in rich coverings."[79] The female combatants are certainly skillful, but their wealth and the status of their families seem at least equally as important. The wealth and status of the bourgeois women, in contrast to their imagined prowess, reflects directly on the real position of their husbands and fathers.

Behind the valorization of the wealth of the women of Paris is also a praise of their men. Gencien puts this explicitly in the mouths of the women who tie their own performances in the jousts to their husbands' honor.[80] While Gencien dreams of being a male spectator of a female performance, there are still clearly other men present in the

---

[78] Gencien, "Tournoiement as Dames," 285-287.
[79] "cointes," "cointement vetus," Gencien, "Tournoiement as Dames," v. 52, 242, 286, 437, 444, 535, 925,
1004, 1388.
[80] Gencien, "Tournoiement as Dames," 1199-1205.

poem, namely the relatives of the women he describes. Earlier studies of the poem focused almost entirely on an identification of the men and women mentioned with historical *échevins* or Parisian merchants found in the archives, but even without tying every woman to a particular elite family, the importance of the bourgeois male elite remains.[81]

Their presence is not physical, as Gencien is the only man to watch the tournament occur, but every woman named is tied back to her relationship to a historical man. In his introductions, Gencien often leaves off providing the name of the woman in favor of giving the name of the man to whom she is related and the profession of their family. Out of the ninety women in the poem, only twelve receive their own names, with the other seventy-eight named in relation to their genealogy or marital relationships.[82] Outside of the poem, this was not at all standard practice, as bourgeois women in legal acts and wills were fully named.[83] The praise for his peers is also evident when, after one woman rides particularly well, he compares her favorably to a Parisian banker, Pierre Brichard in a stylistic turn that might leave one expecting a comparison to a figure from literature, like Roland, Alexander or Perceval.[84] Where traditional tournaments in literature provided the opportunity for men to judge themselves and their prowess based on the opinions of women, in the Ladies' Tournament, with Gencien as the judge, the women's success still returns to being a compliment toward the men of Paris.

---

[81] See Holger Petersen Dyggve, *Les Personnages du "Tournoiement aus dames"* (NeuphilologischenVerein, 1935) and Bove, *Dominer la ville* Vol 2 Ch. 4, (Paris: 2004).
[82] Gencien, 272-74.
[83] Bove, *Dominer la ville*, 545.
[84] "onques nul jor Pierre Brichart / ne vi aussi bien chevauchier," Gencien, 144-145. See Bove, *Dominer laville*, 577, for an identification of Pierre Brichard as a prominent banker.

Gencien's Ladies' Tournament displays the self-perception of an échevinal social group and anchors itself in real social identities even as it plays with the social and gendered distance between bourgeois women and noble knights. In addition to demonstrating a clear familiarity with noble culture and arguing that the bourgeois of Paris can participate in some forms of it, Gencien's poem indicates a somewhat ambiguous relationship between the *échevins* of Paris and the noble world. Some aristocratic cultural practices could be imitated, but the *échevins* maintained a separate social identity because of the impossibility of fully embracing the hegemonic chivalric masculinity as non-knights and by translating chivalric ideals into their urban context. Already in 1270, the grand Parisian bourgeoisie manifested some awareness that they could occupy a cultural space between merchant and aristocrat.

Noble Culture in Urban Practice

Pierre Gencien's poem, with its account of the heraldic symbols of the *échevins* and its familiarity with chivalric literature, prefigures accounts of the actual staged urban jousts which attested in the city of Paris by 1300. After the establishment of the position of *échevin* of Paris in 1263, the proximity of the Parisian patriciate to noble culture continued to develop. Beyond texts like Gencien's which demonstrated a familiarity with popular chivalric tropes, the *échevins* of Paris also used their wealth to publicly display their status by mobilizing those tropes in performances outside of literature. In these recorded moments of procession and jousting, the *échevins* of Paris negotiated ideals of masculine honor and prowess that owed a great deal to chivalric standards related to the masculinity of the knight.

The elite citizens of Paris created and presented a social identity with hallmarks of noble culture, particularly in instances of procession or performance that signaled some departure from the daily routine. By tying themselves not only to the culture of chivalry but also to the functioning of the court, the *échevins* of Paris carved out a spot for themselves that gave them the legitimacy of political power in their own city and the appearance to justify that power, even while certain instances of public performance made individuating themselves more difficult. Wealthy Parisians adopted several of the habits of the noble class, including falconry and certain modes of etiquette in the privacy of their own homes, but the most spectacular instances of display are moments in which the elite of the city hosted their own jousts. The *Chronique Parisienne Anonyme,* likely written by a Parisian, describes several instances of jousts in which the author displays an affinity for the men who participate. The chronicle describes in detail tournaments that took place in 1305, 1320, 1330, and 1331. Both the author's description of the *échevins* who participate and the participants' efforts to distinguish themselves and link their activities to those of a knight demonstrate both their preference for chivalric culture and their ability to claim some of the aspects of a chivalric masculinity for themselves.

As noted by Ruth Mazo Karras, the knight and ideals of chivalry exercised a powerful hold on aspects of medieval culture outside of noble social groups, and the Parisian elite was quite sensible to the uses of this discourse.[85] Both the anonymous chronicler and the *échevins* of Paris could mobilize the language and practices associated with knightly culture and masculinity in order to establish their own social identity at the top of the city of Paris and deserving of consideration in the same way as courtly culture.

---

[85] Ruth Mazo Karras, *From Boys to Men,* 10.

The Parisian jousts detailed in the *Chronique Parisienne Anonyme* were lavish and well-planned affairs which borrowed traditionally chivalric elements of the joust from both literature and practice. By positioning themselves as financially and physically able to participate in knightly performance, the *échevins* drew a conscious link between their social identity and that of the knight.

Each of the jousts were staged within the city of Paris itself, organized by the elite Parisians and more particularly those currently involved in governing the city, and the men participating in the actual competition aspiring to knightly qualities were members of this patriciate. Just as the rest of Paris who did not belong to the wealthiest elite participated in greeting the king for royal entries, shopkeepers, and others formed part of the audience for the jousts. The location of the tournaments within Paris also indicates their importance to the elite: all of them took place on the right bank of the city, leaving the left bank to the University of Paris, whose members, while in the city, did not properly belong to the urban classes. In 1305, the joust was held at the Place de Greve, which in 1357 would become the official home of Etienne Marcel but remained at the time a central location for Parisian government.

The language used by the chronicler to judge the tournaments' victors emphasizes the intimate knowledge of the hegemonic noble masculinity possessed by elite Parisian men and women. The model of manliness they deployed during the joust was markedly similar to that of a knight. In 1305, the Parisian women watching the tournament found the men from other cities "as lacking in the techniques of the joust as children."[86] Choosing to insult the other bourgeois by calling them youths called into question their

[86] Hellot, *Chronique Parisienne, 58.*

masculinity implying a lack of prowess and education that emasculated them more than feminine comparisons might.[87] While urban tournaments against other cities involved some elements of a team sport, it was still entirely possible for individuals to earn high praise or be severely dishonored. One man in particular lost badly and was led away "to his great dishonor" as a "chaitif (captive)."[88] Throughout literature in Old French, the word chétif carries connotations of physical weakness or dishonor and often applies to combatants who no longer deserve the honor of being considered true men.[89] The consequence of a loss in this public setting is a mock disgrace, but one that also carried a severe judgment of weakness. In this instance, the bourgeois technique for insulting a competitor aligns with insults that would have been appropriate in a noble joust.

At the joust of 1330, a man from Compiegne similarly called the status of the Parisian competitors into question by comparing them to children while beating anyone he could reach with a switch. He was eventually "thrown from his horse to the ground by the weakest man of Paris. His pride and boasting were brought low, and he left the field suffering acutely from a loss of honor."[90] Here, the chronicler establishes both a very recognizable challenge to the masculinity of the Parisian elite coming from an outsider and resolves it decidedly in their favor. By noting his defeat at the hands of the weakest Parisian, the chronicler establishes the superiority of all of the men of Paris relative to those from other cities. In most chivalric biographies, challenges to a joust take place

---

[87] See both Karras, *From Boys to Men* and Farmer, "The Beggar's Body," on the way in which gender in the middle ages was constructed along the familiar gender binary as well as ones of race, class and religion.Karras in particular argues that in homosocial environments of competition, the division between child and adult was at least equally significant to man/woman.
[88] Hellot, *Chronique Parisienne,* 60.
[89] "chaitif," *Dictionnaire Etymologique de l'Ancien Français en ligne, DEAFplus: ilarité DEAFplus*, and Malcolm Jones, "Folklore Motifs in Late Medieval Art II: Sexist Satire and Popular Punishments," *Folklore* 101, no. 1 (1990): 69–87.
[90] Hellot, *Chronique Parisienne, 139*

between relative equals in status and in skill.[91] A defeat at the hands of a weak opponent here then seriously questions the prowess of this man from Compiegne. Because the setting of a joust lends itself to judgments about prowess and manliness regardless of the social status of the participants, the vocabulary and set of ideas about manhood deployed in the *Chronique* are quite similar to discourse about knights.

While according to Boris Bove, the *échevins* rarely engaged in actual military combat, they eagerly joined in with these mock combats in order to win honor for themselves and their city.[92] In the *Chronique Parisienne Anonyme*, the descriptions of combats, and the judgments the chronicler attaches to the winners and losers share the same martial, masculine ideology as descriptions of knightly violence, as revealed by a comparison to chivalric biographies. Completed in 1409, the chivalric biography of Jean II Le Meingre, known as Boucicaut, presents its subject as the embodiment of all of the qualities expected of a knight. While beyond the timeframe of the urban jousts, the biographer draws upon the same set of chivalric ideals of manhood with which the *échevins* were familiar. Boucicaut's early exploits included several instances of jousts in 1385 and 1390. The biographer frames all of the jousts similarly to the competition between the men of Paris and their challenger from Compiegne in that the inciting incident was a challenge to Boucicaut's masculinity. The accusation that either he "hadn't the physique" to support his prowess, or Boucicaut's anger at the "braggadocio" of an English knight accusing all the French of cowardice spurred him to issue a

---

[91] Karras, *Boys to Men*, 30.
[92] Boris Bove, *Dominer La Ville: Prévôts Des Marchands et Échevins Parisiens de 1260 à 1350*, vol. 13,CTHS-Histoire (Paris: Éditions du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques, 2004), 216.

challenge.[93] In each case, Boucicaut emerged "with great honor" because he fought before an audience of male peers and female spectators. As they mobilized ideas of honor and dishonor, the judgment of an audience, and braggadocio that inferior men could not live up to, both Boucicaut's biographer and the anonymous chronicler relied on the same cultural language of the knightly masculine ideal.

The influence of chivalric literature appears both in the language chosen by the chronicler and in the imagery or themes presented by the organizers of the jousts themselves. In 1305, four Parisian champions, described as "worthy and handsome," jousted under the name of "The Ones Grieved by Love."[94] This sort of appellation would not be out of place in medieval chivalric literature to describe the character of the knight jousting for the favor of his lady. Indeed, the chronicler notes that "love spurred them to victory." As noted by Ruth Mazo Karras in her examination of the role of women in knightly masculinity, the primary role of women in noble and bourgeois tournaments alike is to serve as spectator and occasionally a symbolic judge. The competitors in the tournament of 1330, according to the chronicler, fought "for the love of the ladies," in a turn of phrase that emphasizes the performative nature of the display.[95]

The importance of a female audience is attested both in descriptions of noble tournaments and in chivalric literature like that of Chrétien de Troyes, notably in *The Knight of the Cart* when Lancelot asks a challenger what the use of their fighting unseen in the woods would be. The presence of female judgement in the audience serves the purpose of affirming the gendered performance of the men. In traditional chivalric

---

[93] Craig Taylor, *The Chivalric Biography of Boucicaut, Jean II Le Meingre* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell& Brewer Ltd, 2016), 42-43.
[94] Hellot, *Chronique Parisienne*, 16.
[95] Hellot, *Chronique Parisienne,* 138.

literature, women who watch male displays of prowess demonstrate the desirability of the winning knight where, romantic or sexual desirability then translates into an affirmation of their nobility and masculinity.[96] Before describing the combat of the jousts, the chronicler first notes the presence of the "richly dressed noble ladies of Paris"[97] who watch the combat. Some of the ladies, the chronicler observes, were wearing crowns, a practice that had been forbidden by sumptuary laws as of 1294. This pretension to noble trappings despite legal discouragements illustrates the importance of the tournaments as a place to be seen, and in this case for men to have richly dressed women for whom to perform. Without a suitable audience, preferably of ladies, it would be impossible for men to gain anything from performing their status or masculinity. In all of the tournaments described in the *Chronique*, male judges have the final choice of the champion, but a young girl symbolically gives the prize. In 1330, a young unmarried girl on a white horse, in a white robe carrying a merlin on her wrist bestows the prize on the Parisian champion in a strikingly chivalric tableau. While the image is borrowed directly from stories of courtly love, the girl herself is the daughter of a wealthy Parisian textile merchant.

The joust in 1330 gave the *échevins* another opportunity to display their "nobility and valor," two words that also signal proximity to chivalric masculinity.[98] The men who rode out onto the field in the city, though not noble, were linked to aristocratic ideals of masculinity both by the words of the chronicle and their costumes. This particular joust

---

[96] Jean-Pierre Jourdan, "Le Langage amoureux dans le combat de chevalerie à la fin du moyen age,(France, Bourgogne, Anjou)," in *Le moyen āge* 99 (1993): 84-106.
[97] The phrasing "riches dames et nobles bourgeoisez de Paris," indicates the presence of both noble ladies(dames) and non-noble women of high standing (nobles bourgeoisez).
[98] Hellot, *Chronique Parisienne*, 137.

borrowed directly from themes of noble literature rather than the plays more often seen in urban settings.[99] The competition combines a joust with narratives and images borrowed from both the *Roman de la Rose* and *The Iliad*, as well as some references to Arthurian literature. René le Flament took the role of King Priam, and thirty-five young men of Paris played his sons, many of them with family names that indicate they belong to the families of former provosts of Paris. Jacques des Essars, in the role of Hector, ultimately won the prize presented to him by the girl with the falcon.

The jousts organized by the Parisian elite may be the most dramatic form in which they displayed a sensibility to noble culture, but in a remarkable account of a procession capping off a 1313 Pentecost festival, the high bourgeoisie also were praised as nearly nobles. In the metrical chronicle attributed to Geoffroi of Paris, the author devotes almost a third of the chronicle to a description of the festival and the large procession of Parisians that took place. In critical readings of the metrical chronicle, historians tend to accept both that the attribution to Geoffroi de Paris is false and that the chronicler is only a first-hand source for events that take place between 1312 and 1316, a period including the Pentecostal procession, rather than from 1300 on.[100] The literary and vernacular form of the chronicle, as well as resonances between certain events and literary parallels also suggests that the chronicler may have written a slightly exaggerated piece meant to please a group of listeners. In the case of the Pentecostal festival, an author writing to please a Parisian audience might well embellish the lavish nature of the celebration and add in

---

[99] Barbara Hanawalt and Kathryn Reyerson, *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe* (University ofMinnesota Press, 1994), 240.

[100] Jean Dunbabin, "The Metrical Chronicle Traditionally Ascribed to Geffroy of Paris," in *Fauvel Studies*,ed. Andrew. Wathey and Margaret. Bent (Oxford : New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 1998), 233-46.

extra praise of the citizens. This sort of rhetorical move, while making the chronicle a more dubious historical source for the exact unfolding of the festival in 1313, remains of interest to examining how the *échevins* of Paris expected to hear themselves and their place in the city described.

The festival was decreed by King Philip the Fair in order to celebrate the knighting of three of his sons, including Philip, the king of Navarre, and the assumption of the cross by himself and his son-in-law, King Edward II of England. The presence of three kings in Paris and the surrounding festivities particularly impressed the chronicler, who recorded the events so they might always "remain in memory and so all can see this festival even those who are not born or were not there."[101] In addition to the feasts and ceremonies held by the nobility, the chronicler gives great attention to the celebrations of the Parisians themselves. The organizational undertaking of holding such an event can first be indicated by the fact that the streets of Paris were decorated with colorful cloths that, perhaps with some artistic license, the chronicler calls "marvels without compare."[102]

The procession of the Parisians themselves on June 8th takes central stage in the accounts of the celebrations. While previous days of celebration featured showy moments of pageantry, they served primarily as backdrops to knighting ceremonies or the assumption of the cross. On June 8th, the chronicler "must speak of the bourgeoisie," and processional performance itself was the central event of the day. According to the anonymous chronicler, some fifty thousand Parisians participated, a number that would

---

[101] Geoffroi de Paris, *La Chronique Métrique Attribuée à Geoffroi de Paris*, ed. Armel Divères (Strasbourg:La Faculté de Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, 1956), 187.
[102] Geoffroi de Paris, *La Chronique Métrique*, 220.

account for a quarter of the urban population. Unlike other examples of processions, the Pentecostal celebration did not include a noble or ecclesiastical leader at its center. Instead, the parade was orderly without following any particular powerful individual and serves as the *noble fet* (admirable deed) that ends the description of the Pentecost celebrations.

The Pentecostal procession gave the bourgeois the opportunity to perform their *vaillance* (worthiness) before the visiting royalty and nobility present for the occasion. Not only did they demonstrate their capacities to beautify the city of Paris with decorations and the construction of pontoon boats across the river, but the chronicler also singles out certain groups within the procession for special praise. The chronicler pays particular attention to the high bourgeois of whom, though he disdains comparisons generally, he says "in fact they have five things normally belonging to the nobility:" their rich clothing and liveries, their music and celebrations during the day and at night, the wax illumination they funded, and the pageants they funded and put on.[103] The pageants and tableaus chosen by the bourgeois continue the theme of familiarity with noble culture, again drawing scenes from the *Roman de la Rose* and the *Iliad*. These characteristics, in contrast to the masculine prowess the *échevins* displayed in jousts, resonate with aspects of noble culture tied most here to the wealth of the elites. In their choice of music and fashion, the *échevins* sought to emulate noble culture, but their wealth was ultimately at the root of their success.

Unlike other ritual ceremonies, the metrical chronicler noted that the Pentecost procession of 1313 included women, children under ten in a "Tournai d'Enfans

---

[103] Geoffroi de Paris, *Chronique Métrique,* 185.

(Children's Tournament)" and *ribaus* (laborers or dissolutes) dancing in white shirts.[104] The presence of the *ribaus*, in particular, provides a notable contrast with the authority and the wealth of the elites that had been praised by the chronicler. The term has a wide semantic range, from a fairly neutral indication of a juggler, laborer or entertainer to a more common and negative use to refer to a dissolute man of ill repute.[105] While in this case, the primary meaning is most likely the most neutral one because of the association of the dancers with the Pentecostal procession in honor of the city, the link between the lower classes and dissolution creates a stark contrast with the *échevins* and their ladies who are later described as borrowing some of the characteristics of the nobility. The *ribaus* present at the procession, while not necessarily dissolutes, lack the same opportunity to perform their worth before a noble audience. Both by linking the *échevins* to qualities that normally "belong" to the nobility and by mentioning their "vaillance," the chronicler tied the elite of the city more closely to the noble spectators than the less wealthy participants.

In contrast to the ceremony of the royal entry that displays the political relationship between *échevin* and monarch, the jousts and the leaderless procession at Pentecost in 1313 both established more social distance between the urban élite and the nobility. The Pentecost celebrations of 1313 similarly feature a procession made up entirely of the citizenry of Paris, with the recently knighted men and the kings enjoying separate festivities or watching the spectacle. Despite positioning themselves in relation to the hegemonic masculinity of the warrior, the bourgeois citizens of Paris did not joust

---

[104] Geoffroi de Paris, *Chronique Métrique*, 183.
[105] "ribaus" in *Dictionnaire Electronique d'Ancien Français*: *ilarité* DEAF; and "ribaut," in *LéxiqueGodefroy*.

together with the nobility. However, princes and other nobles recognized that the jousts organized by the *échevins* were worthy of their attendance: the joust of 1320, for example, was presided over by a group that included Louis of Clermont, the grandson of Louis IX, Marguerite of France, the daughter of King Philip V, and Jean Gencien, the *prévôt* of Paris, Martin des Essars and Jean Barbeite, representing the *échevins* and the city.[106] This tournament, as they all were, was paid for by the bourgeois themselves as a further demonstration of the social capital they could purchase.

The public ceremonies put on by the *échevins* demonstrate their familiarity with and ability to mobilize popular chivalric ideas about masculine identity. By jousting, for example, they placed their identity in relation to a hegemonic ideal without actually competing for status with any members of the nobility. Largely due to their wealth and political power, the Parisian patriciate was able to adopt symbols of chivalric identity in order to present themselves as the idealized leaders of the city of Paris. The language deployed in descriptions of tournaments illustrates the ease and familiarity the *échevins* enjoyed with noble registers of masculinity even as they maintained a distinct identity as urban leaders, merchants and *preudommes*.

The public tournaments and processions in which the *échevins* emulate noble qualities of chivalry were unique festival settings that allowed for a departure from daily identities. In daily life, the *échevins* did, through their wealth and dress, take part in aristocratic activities, from falconry to attempts to thwart sumptuary laws by wearing richer clothing than might be allowed. For example, in 1352, Marie, the daughter of Jean Gencien, argued that her husband had in fact been a noble because she wore "the

[106] Hellot, *Chronique Parisienne Anonyme,* 61.

ornaments of noble women."[107] Participation in an urban joust or in city wide processions provided an outlet for the display of urban pride in the city of Paris and in a specific Parisian identity, but moments of procession and festival in medieval Europe formed part of an ideal of identity that the elite of Paris combined with self-presentations not entirely borrowed from aristocratic masculinity. In both moments of public performance and in records of values unique to elite Parisian men, their self-constructions diverged from the noble qualities recognized as hegemonic.

Jousting Merchants: Iconographic evidence

While the *échevins* constructed part of their public identities in relation to chivalric ideals, they remained part of a municipal setting with a different set of expectations. In addition to textual evidence, in two iconographic sources, the Parisian patriciate presented themselves radically differently because of their radically different contexts. Sketches of the tombs of several of the Parisian patriciate mobilize a set of urban, non-noble iconographic tropes that contrast with the illuminations in the manuscript version of Pierre Gencien's poem. Intended for different audiences and different purposes, these visual sources underline the flexibility of the presentation of the Parisian elite. The manuscript version of the "Tournoiement des Dames" includes thirteen vignette images, spread throughout the poem (Figures 2 and 3).[108] The manuscript, dating from the beginning of the fourteenth century, is mainly dedicated to a version of the *Roman de la Rose* and the "Tournoiement des Dames" occupies the final twelve pages. In these representations, portraits of bourgeois women follow the text exactly, presenting

[107] Favier, *Le Bourgeois de Paris,* 579.
[108] Vaticano, BAV, Reg. Lat. 1522 f. 160v-172v.

them as similar to knights in armor. The other source, tomb effigies, represent the *échevins* and their relations in respectable bourgeois dress.

The illuminations of the Gencien's Ladies' Tournament capture the spirit of his dream: the women wear full armor and are portrayed riding their horses into jousts (Figure 3). Any comedy associated with the sexual role reversal becomes obscured, particularly when the women are portrayed fully helmeted and in combat. The women wear a closed helmet, full armor and carry naked swords. In those illuminations, it becomes impossible to distinguish them from illuminations of any other noble tournament, or an illuminated chivalric romance. These images of the female warrior, another example of the intimate knowledge of chivalric iconography, are a playful version of one of the ways in which the Parisian patriciate represents itself. The representation within the manuscript was also likely intended for a more intimate audience of bourgeois than for full public consumption. Both the jousts hosted by the *échevins* and the one dreamt up by Pierre Gencien by their festival setting authorize some departure from a hard and fast social order. The *échevins* were allowed, for example, to carry weapons in the royal city only in this circumscribed context.

The representation of the same patriciate in funeral effigies differs radically (Figure 4). This context was meant to be seen by anyone with access to this official portrait over centuries. In funeral effigies, the *échevins* portrayed themselves as fully within the "third order" of medieval society. The men wear long coats with short sleeves, with ankle shoes and occasionally a small hat. These costumes were typical of the "citizen" of the late thirteenth century, lacking ornaments or any of the pretentions to

evade sumptuary laws that might be visible in court records.[109] Outside of carved stone, differences in status would have been most readily apparent through the quality or cleanliness of the material as well as any embellishments they saw fit to add. A funerary monument for an urbanite could not make pretensions to noble status, but in other contexts the *échevins* adeptly adopted the visual language of the elite in order to enhance their own urban status.

Conclusion

The self-presentation of the urban Parisian elite synthesized elements of paradox: they relied on the visual and literary language of noble culture in order to establish themselves as worthy men without seriously attempting or succeeding in integrating with the nobility. They preferred instead to maintain a separate sense of Parisian patrician identity defined by a base level of wealth and prudence, but also by an insistence on an elite level of power in the city. The *échevins* of Paris, close to the French nobility but not members of that order, residents of the city of Paris but much wealthier than most of its population, negotiated a new form of masculinity that adopted some of the hegemonic traits of the knight's masculinity while insisting on an urban, non-noble identity. These men neither wholesale adopted a mercantile masculinity based on wealth and economic success nor did they fully buy into the definition of masculinity associated with warrior knights. Instead of attempting to enter into the discourse of aristocratic masculinity, the Parisian *échevins* constructed their own patrician ideal with its own set of criteria in order to judge their peers.

---

[109] Sarah-Grace Heller, *Fashion in Medieval France*, vol. 3, Gallica (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell & Brewer,2007), 76.

By virtue of their wealth and political status, the Parisian *échevins* were brought into a space that itself challenged medieval schema of a society of only three orders. Their construction of an elite position within the third order, everyone outside the clergy or nobility, demanded a recognition of a different hegemonic ideal. In doing so, they adopted certain chivalric practices that allowed them to present an image of themselves that would have been recognizable as the emulation of a masculine ideal. However, in their political and economic activities, they purposefully maintained a distinction between themselves and the aristocracy whose literature and culture they valued. Instead of attempting to model themselves after what is thought to be the hegemonic masculinity of the middle ages, the Parisian patriciate created a new set of masculine virtues that rested on their unique social identity. Honor and the ability to manage wealth appeared as particularly important markers of status, as they would for other urban mercantile communities. The *échevins* were not only *preudomes*, however, as they both accepted certain aspects of the knightly model of masculinity and valued their status not only as urbanites but as Parisians.

The identity they created for themselves was coherent while also accommodating nuances to particular situations. Their appropriation of the ideology of the knight which centered prowess, chivalric love, and martial honor constrained itself mainly to moments of public festival outside of their everyday identities as merchants and municipal leaders. However, the access they had to these pretentions to noble qualities clearly set them apart from the rest of the city that served as the audience to their tournaments. By staging the tournaments themselves, the Parisian elite was able to carve out a space where they were not in direct competition with any man who was noble by blood and thus could use

chivalric elements to signal their own wealth and power rather than entering into a discourse commanded by the nobility. Before the *parlement* of Paris, by contrast, the *échevins* could mobilize their ability to speak for the city, thanks again to their economic success. Their use of a discourse of Parisian superiority and urban unity allowed them to further appropriate power to their position. Their political power, while partially rhetoric, was significant enough that in precarious moments for the monarchy, the king would turn to the *échevins* to guarantee his order. The revolt of Etienne Marcel is one demonstration of the fact that the elite of Paris only needed a small window to assert further dominance.

A gendered examination of the position of the Parisian elite yields first of all a sense of a different way of constructing the ideal form of masculinity for these men. Instead of attempting to adopt all of the ideals of chivalric masculinity, an effort which would eventually exclude themselves from being that type of ideal man of noble lineage, they modeled a different definition of elite status that did not require martial combat or high birth. Their success further illustrates the possibilities of the integration of nobles into urban life and continues to blur the lines between urbanite and noble. The difference between an honorable, "real" man in fourteenth century Paris and a dishonorable, lesser man had less to do with the difference between noble and non-noble than with different methods of defining the ideal man. The ability of the *échevins* to create and maintain a stable elite identity that guaranteed them social superiority in a society where urban discourse was gradually growing in power raises questions about the continued diversification of the medieval social elite.

Appendix

Figure 1: Royal Entry of Jean le Bon into Paris, Jean Fouquet (BNF MS Fr. 6465, fol. 417)

Figure 2: Manuscript Illumination, "Tournoiement as Dames," (Vaticano, Reg. Lat. 1522, fol. 161v)

Figure 3: Manuscript Illumination, "Tournoiement as Dames" (Vaticano, Reg. Lat. 1522, fol. 165r)

Figure 4: Sketches of the tombs of (*Left to right)* Jean Barbeite (d.1276), Jean Sarrazin (d.1289), and Jean de Lille (d. 1296), (Sketches by Roger de Gagnières, BNF, Estampes,from *Cazelles, Nouvelle histoire de Paris,* Plates 9, 12, 13).

Bibliography

Primary Sources

BNF MS Fr. 6465.

Chronique Des Règnes de Jean II et de Charles V. Vol. 1. 4 vols. Paris: H. Laurens, 1910. Demay, Germain. *Inventaire Des Sceaux de l'Artois et de La Picardie : Recueillis Dans Les Dépôts d'archives, Musées et Collections Particulières Des Départements Du Pas-de-Calais, de l'Oise, de La Somme et de l'Aisne, Avec Un Catalogue Des Pierres GravéesAyant Servi à Sceller et Vingt-Quatre Planches Photoglyptiques / G. Demay*, 1877.

Gencien, Pierre. *Le Tornoiement as Dames de Paris.Poemetto Antico Francese Di PierreGencien,*. Perugia, 1917.

Geoffroi de Paris. *La Chronique Métrique Attribuée à Geoffroi de Paris*. Edited by Armel Divères. Strasbourg: La Faculté de Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, 1956.

Guenée, Bernard, and Françoise. Lehoux. *Les Entrées royales françaises de 1328 à 1515*. Vol. 5. Sources d'histoire médiévale. Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherchescientifique, 1968.

Jean de Venette. *Chronique dite de Jean de Venette*. Translated by Colette Beaune. Vol. 31547. Lettres gothiques. Paris: Librairie générale française, 2011.

Méon, Dominique Martin. *Nouveau recueil de fabliaux et contes inédits des poètes françaisdes XIIe, XIIIe, XIVe et XVe siècles*. Chasseriau, 1823.

MS Vaticano Reg. Lat. 1522.

Taylor, Craig. *The Chivalric Biography of Boucicaut, Jean II Le Meingre*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press is an imprint of Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2016.

Tisserand, L. M., and Antoine Le Roux de Lincy. *Paris et Ses Historiens Aux XIVe et XVe Siècles*. Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1867.

Troyes, Chrétien de. *Le Roman de Perceval :Ou, Le Conte Du Graal*. Edited by WilliamRoach, Genève: Librarie Droz, 1959.

Viard, Jules. *Documents parisiens du règne de Philippe VI de Valois*. University of Michigan Library, 2009.

Reference Works

Godefroy, Frédéric Eugène, ed. *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du 9e au 15e siècle*. Paris F. Vieweg, 1881.

Dictionnaire Étymologique de l'Ancien Français, DEAFplus: *ilarité* DEAFplus http://www.deaf-page.de/fr/. (Accessed April 8, 2021).

Secondary Sources

Ashley, Kathleen M., ed. *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages andthe Renaissance*. Ludus 5. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001.

Bak, János M, ed. *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.

Bertrand, Paul. *Documenting the Everyday in Medieval Europe : The Social Dimensions of a Writing Revolution 1250-1350*. Edited by Graham (Graham Robert) Edwards. *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy ;* Turnhout: Brepols, 2019.

Bloch, Marc. *French Rural History: An Essay on Its Basic Characteristics*. London: Routledge, 1978.

Boone, Marc, and Martha C. Howell, eds. *The Power of Space in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe: The Cities of Italy, Northern France and the Low Countries*. Studies in European Urban History 30. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013.

Bove, Boris. *Dominer La Ville: Prévôts Des Marchands et Échevins Parisiens de 1260 à 1350*. Vol. 13. CTHS-Histoire. Paris: Éditions du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques, 2004.

Brown, Andrew. "Urban Jousts in The Later Middle Ages: The White Bear of Bruges." *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 78, no. 2 (2000): 315–30.

Brown, Andrew, and Jan Dumolyn. *Medieval Urban Culture*. Vol. 43. Studies in European Urban History (1100-1800) 43. Brepols Publishers, 2017.

Brown, Elizabeth A. R. "The Tyranny of a Construct: Feudalism and Historians of Medieval Europe." *The American Historical Review* 79, no. 4 (1974): 1063–88.

Bruyne, Edgar De. *Etudes d'esthétique médiévale: Le XIIIe siècle. III*. Slatkine Reprints, 1975.

Cazelles, Raymond. *Nouvelle histoire de Paris, de la fin du règne de Philippe Auguste à la mort de Charles V, 1223-1380.* Paris: Diffusion Hachette, 1972.

Chastang, Pierre. *La ville, le gouvernement et l'écrit à Montpellier (xiie-xive siècle).* Éditionsde la Sorbonne.

Connell, Raewyn. *Gender*. Polity, 2009.

Coss, Peter R., and Maurice Keen. *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in MedievalEngland*. Boydell Press, 2003.

Duby, Georges. *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.

Dunbabin, Jean. "The Metrical Chronicle Traditionally Ascribed to Geffroy of Paris." In *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music, and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationalede France, MS Français 146*, edited by Andrew. Wathey and Margaret. Bent. Oxford : New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 1998.

Dutour, Thierry. *Les Nobles et La Ville Dans l'espace Francophone: (XIIe-XVIe Siècle)*. PUPS, 2010.

Dyggve, Holger Petersen. *Les Personnages du "Tournoiement aus dames."* Neuphilologischen Verein, 1935.

Faggion, Lucien, ed. *L'Humiliation Droit, récits et représentations (xiie-xxie siècles)*. POLEN - Pouvoirs, lettres, normes 15. Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2019.

Farmer, Sharon. "The Beggar's Body: Intersections of Gender and Social Status in High Medieval Paris." In *Monks and Nuns, Saints and Outcasts: Religion in Medieval Society*, edited by Barbara Rosenwein, 153–71. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2018.

Farmer, Sharon A. *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris: Gender, Ideology, and the DailyLives of the Poor*. Conjunctions of Religion and Power in the Medieval Past. Ithaca:Cornell University Press, 2002.

Favier, Jean. *Le Bourgeois de Paris Au Moyen Âge*. Paris: Tallandier, 2012.

Gaunt, Simon. *Gender and Genre in Medieval French Literature*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Goodson, Caroline, Anne Elisabeth Lester, and Carol Symes, *Cities, Texts, and Social Networks, 400-1500: Experiences and Perceptions of Medieval Urban Space*. Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2010.

Hanawalt, Barbara, and Kathryn Reyerson. *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*. U of Minnesota Press, 1994.

Heller, Sarah-Grace. *Fashion in Medieval France*. Vol. 3. Gallica. Woodbridge, UK: Boydell& Brewer, 2007.
Hellot, Alexandre, ed. *Chronique Parisienne Anonyme Du XIVe Siècle*. Nogent le Rotrou: Imprimerie Daupeley-Gouverneur, 1884.
Jones, Malcolm. "Folklore Motifs in Late Medieval Art II: Sexist Satire and Popular Punishments." *Folklore* 101, no. 1 (1990): 69–87.
Jourdan, Jean-Pierre, "Le Langage amoureux dans le combat de chevalerie à la fin du moyenage, (France, Bourgogne, Anjou)." *Le moyen āge,* 99 (1993): 84-106.
Karras, Ruth Mazo. *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe*. The Middle Ages Series. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003.
Kipling, Gordon. *Enter the King. Theatre, Liturgy and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
Kowaleski, Maryanne. "Medieval People in Town and Country: New Perspectives from Demography and Bioarchaeology." *Speculum* 89, no. 3 (2014): 573–600.
Lees, Clare A., Thelma S. Fenster, and Jo Ann McNamara. *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994.
LeGoff, Jacques, and Arthur Goldhammer. *The Medieval Imagination*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988.
Mazour-Matusevich, Yelena. "Late Medieval Control of Masculinity. Jean Gerson." *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 98, no. 3–4 (December 1, 2003): 418–37.
Milland-Bove, Bénédicte. "Lectures croisées du Tournoiement as Dames de Paris. de Pierre Gencien." *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes. Journal of medieval and humanistic studies*, no. 14 spécial (June 30, 2007): 259–75..
Neal, Derek G. *The Masculine Self in Late Medieval England*. University of Chicago Press, 2009.
Radulescu, Raluca L., and Edward Donald Kennedy, eds. *Broken Lines: Genealogical Literature in Medieval Britain and France*. Vol. 16. Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2008.
Rasmussen, Ann Marie. *Rivalrous Masculinities: New Directions in Medieval Gender Studies*. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2019.
Roux, Simone. *Paris in the Middle Ages*. Translated by Jo Ann McNamara. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009.
Solterer, Helen. "Figures of Female Militancy in Medieval France." *Signs* 16, no. 3 (1991): 522–49.
Thierry, Augustin. *Essai sur l'histoire de la formation et des progrès du Tiers Etat: suivi de deux fragments du recueil des monuments inédits de cette histoire*. Garnier, 1875.
Thomas, Hugh M. "Shame, Masculinity, and the Death of Thomas Becket." *Speculum* 87, no. 4 (October 1, 2012): 1050–88.
Wildin, Alexis, John Naylor, Derek Keene, and Arnoud-Jan Bijsterveld, eds. *Town and Country in Medieval North Western Europe. Dynamic Interactions.* Turnhout: Brepols, 2015.

"Good night sweet Prince," the Rood whispered in its Dream:

Christ and the Rood's suffering without terror, riddle-objects' dual natures in the Exeter Book,and the case against an anthropocentric reading of Old English Treatments of the Anthropomorphic and Natural domains

By
Samual Hebert

A Thesis Submitted to the Departments of Medieval Studiesand
English Language & Literature
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirementsfor
the B.A. Degree

University of Chicago
19 April 2021

I. What Came to Me in the Middle of the Night[1][2]

Although it survives in the 10th-century Vercelli Book—one of the four major codices of Old English literature[3]—the *Dream of the Rood* is among the earliest works written in Old English, potentially dating to as far back as the 8th century. The poem offersan alternative account of the Crucifixion from the perspective of the Cross, the titular "rood;"[4] one where the Rood is transformed by men from an ordinary tree into a cross, and then by God from a cross into a salfivic companion. The Rood also delivers a brief admonition to the narrator to share this vision and spread the Christian faith, and the narrator, turning their focus outward to the reader, closes the poem with a reflection uponthe Rood's revelations and a prayer for their own salvation. Like many other works of OldEnglish poetry,[5] the *Dream* displays an awareness of and attention to the natural world, and we can see this nowhere more clearly than in the peculiar nature of the Rood. At once natural entity, human-made instrument, and holy figure, the Rood challenges our contemporary understanding of naturalness as mere non-humanity and invites an ecocritical approach to understanding the poem's significance.

1 *Dream of the Rood*, l. 2; In this paper I will be referring to the edition of the *Dream of the Rood* found in the2nd volume of Dobbie and Krapp's *ASPR*.

2 I should mention: if the title doesn't make any sense, do not worry. I sold the naming rights and this is what the owner came up with.

3 The others being the Junius Manuscript, the Exeter Book, and Cotton Vitellius A.xv—the Beowulf MS.

4 Rood, from the OE *rod*, meaning "crucifix," survives in modern English through ecclesiastical terminology, *e.g.* rood screen, rood cross, et cetera.

5 Estes, Heide, *Anglo-Saxon Literary Landscapes*, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017) 9-10; we will visit some such works shortly.

Put simply, ecocriticism is the study of literature with regard human interactions with and treatments of ecological concerns, the environment, and the natural world. While much of ecocritical scholarship is interested in issues of environmentalism and conservation, it is the third category—the study of human-natural relations—that is relevant to a discussion of the *Dream*. The introduction of an ecocritical lens to the study of the *Dream of the Rood* allows us to turn away from previous readings of the poem and focus instead on a new question: in what ways does the characterization of the Rood challengeteleological assumptions about how early medieval English poets understood the relationship between the human domain and the natural, non-human one?

Thus, an ecocritical reading of the *Dream of the Rood* is based in more than the simple fact that the Rood was once a tree. Rather, it is the elevation of the Rood, hewn froma tree—a synechdochic stand-in for the natural world—above the human characters in this account of the Crucifixion that encourages an ecocritical approach to the poem. The philosophy of radical ecology, or the rejection of "human dominion over the natural world,"[6] is a relatively recent development in intellectual terms, but the *Dream of the Rood*offers a rough outline for a radical, non-anthropocentric ecology roughly 1200 years before ecocriticism was invented. Because the Crucifixion—and the rest of Christ's Passion, and,frankly, all of Christianity—is so overtly anthropocentric, it is all the more significant that

6 Smith, Mick, *Against Ecological Sovereignty: Ethics, Biopolitics, and Saving the Natural World*, Posthumanities 16 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011) xi.

the *Dream* ascribes to the Rood a measure of vitality and agency equal to or surpassing that of the poem's human characters. This subversion is the basis for my ecocritical reading ofthe *Dream of the Rood*: it reiterates the Rood's persistent link to the natural world, *i.e.* its naturalness, and thus reveals the *Dream*-poet's attention to the contours of the relation between the human and the natural. Although it depicts a violent human attitude toward nature, it rejects the superiority of the human to the natural and paints a picture of a rich,vibrant natural world filled with entities that possess their own non-anthropocentric interests and motivations.

Because animals have such a social and functional proximity to humanity,[7] ecocritical theorists have made many attempts to "take animals seriously"[8] or undertake the study of animals and human-animal relations in the same ways that anthropologists would study humans, but there is more to nature than the animals that inhabit it. The vast majority of the natural world is composed of non-sentient[9] organisms—plants and fungi—and inanimate biological and mineral matter—sticks, stones, and bones—all of which play a large role in both intra-natural and human-natural interactions. It is these non-sentient and inanimate natural entities, rather than the aforementioned animals, that will be the focus of

7 And also probably the ease with which we can anthropomorphize a dog or a pig or some other intelligent animal, in comparison to a cricket or a slug. For more on the benefits of anthropomorphism, see Bennett, *Vibrant Matter*, 98-100.

8 DeGrazia, David, *Taking Animals Seriously: Mental Life and Moral Status* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) comes to mind.

9 I only use the term non-sentient here to denote the relative proximity of animals to what we would consider sentience when compared to plants and fungi.

my analysis, so I turn to Jane Bennett's "vital materialism" for an ecocritical approach toobjects and entities. Vital materialism rejects the notion that agency is exclusive to humanity and argues for the forcefulness of all amalgamations of matter, positing that such an accumulated forcefulness gives even the smallest organisms and the most inanimate minerals agency and the ability to effect change on a human scale. Although Bennett is more explicitly interested in the political ramifications of considering the vitality of non-human matter and entities in the present day, her theory is an essential expansion of theecocritical framework to include those entities—such as the Rood—and eras—such as the 8th century—that a more conventional ecocritical approach might exclude. Bennett's theory encourages us to read the Rood not just as a personification or the projection of human concerns onto an inanimate object but as a vital object with no less agency than the humanbeings that felled it.

The *Dream of the Rood*, however, is not the only work of Old English poetry that centers nonhuman, material perspectives. Another 10th-century codex, the Exeter Book, contains in addition to more than thirty major and minor poetic works nearly one-hundred Old English riddles, many of which offer a similar window into the vitality and agency ofinanimate things. Structurally, these riddles are consistent. They provide a cryptic account of how an object came to be, or of the ways in which it relates to humans, and most end

with some variation on a coy request to "saga hwæt ic hatte"[10] [say what I am called]. Insome cases, the riddles even address the reader somewhat personally, asking that they "sagasoðcwidum, searoþoncum gleaw"[11] [say with true words, clever with skillful thoughts], which only heightens the sense that the riddle is initiating a dialogue between riddle-object and reader. I am particularly interested in Riddles 30 and 53, both plausibly solved as "Cross," and Riddles 88 and 93, both solved as "Inkhorn," for how closely they hew to the natural-entity-to-human-instrument transformation narrative and for their depictions of the natural world. Some common themes among these riddles are those of violence, force, and the separation between natural and human domains. The riddle-objects also demonstrate an awareness of temporality and make a clear distinction between their "lives" before encountering humans and their "lives" afterward. This distinction asks us to contemplate the extent to which the riddles—as well as the scribes who wrote them—partake in the project of subjugating natural entities to human desires so that they become material objects. In conjunction with the *Dream of the Rood*, how do these riddles complicate our understanding of an early medieval English perception of humanity's relation to material objects and to the natural world?

I am not alone in examining the *Dream*'s relationship to the Exeter Book riddles: many scholars have remarked on the structural or poetic similarities between the Exeter

10 Riddle 23, l. 16b. For this project, I will be referring to the Exeter Book riddles by the numbers and lineation they have been assigned in the 3rd volume of Dobbie and Krapp's *ASPR*.

11 Riddle 35, l. 13.

Book riddles and the *Dream of the Rood*,[12] I will focus instead on how these two texts construct the relation between the human and the natural, or the human and the object. [13] Are the Rood and the riddle-objects merely prosopopoeia and anthropomorphism, or are they something altogether different? I believe that they provide much insight into early medieval English conceptions of naturalness. In particular, the *Dream of the Rood* and theExeter Book riddles problematize an understanding of human-made objects as non-natural. Even long after they have been taken from their environments, these objects retain a memory of and connection to the natural world—a natural world that is beyond our ken.These objects' capacity for memory is a crucial element of the *Dream*'s and the riddles' ecological awareness and vital materialist perspective: it is what establishes the Rood's and the riddle-objects' connection to nature. Memory of the natural world and effective agency in the human world together compose the two halves of the theory of naturalness that I identify in these works. The former is what grants objects their naturalness, and the latter is what allows objects to preserve it.

Together, the *Dream of the Rood* and the Exeter Book riddles present a theory of naturalness that rejects human ecological sovereignty by centering the Rood and the riddle- objects, having them tell their stories from their own perspectives, and emphasizing their

12 Mize, Britt. "The Mental Container and the Cross of Christ: Revelation and Community in the Dream of the Rood." *Studies in Philology* 107, no. 2 (Spring 2010): 131–78.; Pasternack, Carol Braun, "Stylistic Disjunctions in 'The Dream of the Rood,'" *Anglo-Saxon England* 13 (1984) 167-186;

13 Bennett, Jane, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 95.

continued link to the natural world. I believe that a careful reading of these works through an ecocritical lens reveals the ways in which their theory of naturalness ultimately anticipates a vital materialist worldview and a radically anti-anthropocentric perspective on human-natural relations. I will begin my argument with a thorough explanation of vital materialism and thing theory, their relation to ecocriticism, and how they can be applied to these texts, after which I will perform a close reading of the *Dream of the Rood*, the "Cross"riddles, and the "Inkhorn" riddles through this ecocritical, materialist lens. I will follow with a reading of the "Creation" Riddles—40 and 66—as a means of expanding my thesis to address an early medieval English understanding of nature itself, and finish up by discussing the wider implications of my argument.

I. Things; Matter

Vital materialism is to an ecocritical reading of the *Dream* and the Exeter Book riddles what a pendulum is to a grandfather clock—it's what makes this reading tick. Thefoundational principle of a vital materialist worldview is that humans are not the only entities with agency and the ability to effect change in what we consider to be the humanworld. Bennett places no limits on the sorts of matter that can—either through the accumulation of what she calls "small agency" or the application of small agency to equally small but significant processes—alter the course of anthropocentric processes.

In order to demonstrate the mechanical process behind her vital materialism, Bennett begins with an example from Charles Darwin: worms, which she claims "do notintend to enable human culture, but [they] do...pursue what appear to be prospective endeavors."[14] The worms do not explicitly recognize the symbiotic nature of this relationship with humans, but do exhibit behaviors that support the continued function of the ecosystems they inhabit. They do not need us even though we certainly need them. More broadly, Bennett's arguments suggest that members of the non-human ecosystem—what I will call the natural world—can have clear and lasting effects on human society and human affairs, all without being "sentient," or even truly alive. Indeed, under a vital materialism we can not only recognize more explicitly the contributions of organic, non-human entities to anthropocentric processes, but also adjust our perception of those processes accordingly.[15]

Another important critical perspective for this ecocritical approach is "thing theory." Put simply, thing theory is a framework for analyzing human-object relationships, though it ultimately becomes much more complex than that. I take Bill Brown's introduction to thesubject, his call to attend more thoughtfully to "things," as inspiration, but for the application of a thing theory to medieval English literature, I turn elsewhere. In her essay "Medieval Things: Materiality, Historicism, and the Premodern Object," Kellie Robertson

14 Bennett, *Vibrant Matter*, 96.
15 Bennett, *Vibrant Matter*, 99.

argues against analyses of medieval literature that attempt to read things as external signposts for the interior qualities of the humans with which they are associated. Her work acknowledges the blurriness of the distinction between human and non-human in medieval literature and argues for understanding things as influential and dynamic entities in their own right. She argues:

> Instead, we can ask about the particular kinds of thoughts that certain hats may instill in their wearers, the kinds of object networks that these things gather to themselves andmaintain, and the myriad ways that objects shape human perceptions and knowledges rather than being merely shaped by them.[16]

This framework is essential for developing an approach to analyzing the agency of inanimate objects, and understanding the ways in which riddle-objects can inform our understanding of early medieval English perceptions of human-natural interactions and relations.

Separately, these two theoretical frameworks are useful but not-quite-perfectly suited to developing an ecocritical reading of the *Dream of the Rood* and the Exeter Book riddles, but together they allow us to imagine a literary ecosystem where inanimate objects are given agency and authority to give their own perspective on relations between humans and their things, and thus humans and the natural world. It is through their attention to the

16 Robertson, Kellie, "Medieval Things: Materiality, Historicism, and the Premodern Object," *Literature Compass* 5, no. 6 (November 2008), 1074; Even though her work is on Chaucer, the basic theoretical framework is easily reconciled with the particulars of early medieval English literature. I am indebted to her approach to the subject for driving my own interest in the application of such theories toOld English Riddles.

subtleties of the interactions between the human world and the natural world that the *Dream* and the Exeter Book riddles demonstrate their engagement with a vital materialism.

II ..... The Tree of Glory[17]…

The *Dream of the Rood* begins with a brief introduction after which the poem's oneiric narrator launches straightaway into a description of a mysterious and magnificent tree girt with gold and bathed in bright light. Soon afterward, the narrator's vision of thevictory-tree takes a dramatic turn:

> Hwæþre ic þurh þæt gold ongytan meahte
> earmra ærgewin, þæt hit ærest ongan
> swætan on þa swiþran healfe. Eall ic wæs mid sorgum gedrefed;
> forht ic wæs for þære fægran *gesyhþe*. Geseah ic þæt fuse beacen
> wendan wædum ond bleom; hwilum hit wæs mid wætan bestemed,
> beswyled mid swates gange. Hwilum mid since gegyrwed.[18]

[Yet through that gold I could see the former agony of the wretched ones, for it first began to bleed on the right side. I was entirely disturbed by sorrows, I was fearful for that fair *vision*. I saw that brave beacon change clothes and complexion; sometimes it was soaked with moisture (sweat, sap, humours), stained with running blood. Sometimes girded with treasure.]

In this scene, the tension between the Rood's natural origins as tree and traumatic memory as cross becomes visible as a deeply disturbing amalgamation of visions. While the unstable *gesyhþ* is an ostensible allusion to the duality of Christ—with whom the Rood will soon be

17 *Dream of the Rood*, l. 13b
18 *Dream of the Rood*, ll. 18-23

sharing a traumatic experience—so too, I believe, is it a premonition of the conflict that the author envisions between the Rood's various identities.

This passage also recalls the figurative language and style of an Old English riddle. Inline 21b, the narrator refers to the tree as a *beacen* because it is "leohte bewunden / beamabeorhtost"[19] [bewound with light, the brightest of beams], but *beacen* can also refer to a spiritual sign, so this instance refers doubly to the glowing tree and its spiritual significance. This contrast is especially notable because the seemingly unnatural glowing tree is a contrast unto itself, juxtaposing the natural and the human-made in a single entity—just likethe riddle-objects of the Exeter Book. The phrase "beswyled mid swates gange" has a doublemeaning too, since *swat* can refer to sweat, blood or sap. This ambiguity invites us to imagine the Rood as both a wounded tree leaking sap and a cross saturated with Christ'sblood. The traumatic vision of what the Rood has become—the blood-soaked cross—is made all the more traumatic by its contrast with the sap of a regular tree. In both lines, theRood's naturalness, its memory of and connection to the natural world, highlights the violence of this human-natural interaction, but its splendid adornments—the work of neither man nor nature—suggest that the Rood does not reside fully within the human- nature binary. The "hwilum....hwilum...." construction in lines 22b-23 is a more direct analogy to riddle structure, calling to mind Riddles 1-3, "Storm," or Riddle 25, "Magpie,"

19 *Dream of the Rood,* ll. 5b-6a.

both of which utilize the construction to capture different aspects of the riddle-object in different moments.[20] The principal purpose of a riddle is to conflate the riddle-object with other, similarly-describable objects,[21] and "hwilum....hwilum.…" is a valuable stylistic tool that allows for the inclusion of seemingly contradictory descriptions intended to throw readers off the scent. Likewise, the *Dream*'s use of "hwilum hwilum.…" can be read as a

reflection of our inability to fully understand the natural world and, by extension, the world of vibrant matter.

Questions of naturalness persist as the poem's speaker shifts from dreamer to Rood. The Rood's speech moves immediately into a brief account of its own transformation fromtree into cross:

> Þæt wæs geara iu (ic þæt gyta geman)þæt
> ic wæs aheawen holtes on ende,
> astyred of stefne minum. Genaman me ðær *strange feondas*, geworhton
> him þær to wæfersyne, heton me heora wergas hebban.[22]

> [It was long ago (I remember it yet) that I was hewn at the forest's edge, ripped up from my roots. *Strong enemies* grabbed me there, made me into a spectacle there for themselves, commanded me to lift their criminals.]

This speech demonstrates the critical relationship between naturalness, memory, and violence that defines interactions between the human and the natural worlds. Natural entities live harmoniously beyond human influence until they are either seized violently,

---

20 In the former case, an overland storm versus a sea storm (or underwater earthquake); in the latter, various animal sounds that the magpie is capable of imitating.

21 Taylor, Archer. "The Riddle." *California Folklore Quarterly* 2, no. 2 (April 1943), 129.

22 *Dream of the Rood*, ll. 27-31.

reconstructed violently, or conscripted into violent service. This violence results in the lossof naturalness, but through memory the Rood is able to preserve its connection to the natural world—and thus its naturalness. The use of "feondas" to describe the men that felled the tree and made the cross applies a negative value judgment to their violent interactions with the natural world and indicates the poem's stance against human dominance of the natural world. That the Rood has hewn at the edge of the forest is significant too: the edge of the forest is, generally speaking, a liminal space between the natural and human domains, so it is fitting that the Rood—a natural entity violently transformed into a human instrument—should hail from a space that negotiates the divide between what is human and what is natural. It is in these liminal spaces that natural entitiesare most susceptible to the violence of humanity's domination of the natural world.

During the Crucifixion sequence in the *Dream*, the Rood's naturalness—its connection to the natural world and possession of agency in the human one—is readily apparent.. When Christ is first placed upon the cross, the poem paints a picture of agencyquite different to the one we expect to see. The ever-active human figure is reduced to a propas it is not so much the case that Christ is crucified upon the Rood, but rather that the Rood is actively holding up Christ. Indeed, it declares chiastically "Rod wæs ic aræred. Ahof icricne Cyning"[23] [I was raised as a cross. I raised up the noble King]. George Tate argued that

23 *Dream of the Rood,* l. 44.

the use of this structure to open the Crucifixion sequence was metaphorical—the relationbetween the chiastic structure and the shape of the cross—and enmeshed in a long historyof Christological word-puzzles and acrostics.[24] Though I am not persuaded by his conclusion that the Rood represents Christ's humanity in the Passion and Crucifixion, I think he identifies an important relationship between the Christ-Rood dynamic and other a- Cross-tics (my pun, intended) that aids our analysis of the naturalness in the *Dream* and the Exeter riddles. The cruciform acrostics refer back to the chiastic structure in which both the Rood and the riddle-objects invert our assumptions and possess the agency that we would attribute to humans.

Twice in this section the Rood tells the dreamer some form of "ne dorste ic hwæþrebugan to eorþan"[25] [I dared not bend to the earth], an affirmation of the Rood's commitment to Christ. Likewise, the Rood notes twice more—once during the Crucifixion and once immediately afterward—that "eall ic wæs mid blode bestemed"[26] [I was all soaked with blood], which calls back to the dreamer's observation of the shape-shifting tree. Both repeated sentiments reflect the extent to which the Rood suffered the pains of the Crucifixion alongside Christ, which is to say almost entirely. They also reflect the difficultyof categorizing the Rood's identity in a satisfying way. Carol Pasternack has argued that the

24 Tate, George S.,"Chiasmus as Metaphor: The 'Figura Crucis' Tradition and 'The Dream ofthe Rood,'" *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 79, no. 2 (1978), 114-15, 117-18.

25 *Dream of the Rood*, l. 42b, also 35-36a: "Þær ic þa ne dorste ofer Dryhtnes word / bugan oþþe berstan."

26 *Dream of the Rood*, l. 48b, also 62a: "standan steame bedrifene."

poem's stylistic disjunctions—such as the shift from passivity at the beginning of the Rood's speech to activity during the Crucifixion—are part of a cohesive project by the *Dream*-poet to convey the full idea of the cross, which she asserts can only be captured faithfully through multiple perspectives at once.[27] I take her point here, and I agree that the poem seems designed to provide multiple perspectives on the Rood itself. For a different setof reasons, however, I would argue that the poem captures the complexity of the Rood rather than the Christian cross abstractly.

Its role in the Crucifixion suggests that the Rood is far beyond mere instrument, but within the dream narrative it is seemingly no longer a natural entity nor is it yet a divineartifact. It is not, however, dispossessed of its naturalness or its agency. This greatly strengthens the argument for understanding the *Dream of the Rood*'s characterization of the Rood as an anticipation of a vital materialist worldview. In the Rood, we find a figure thatshould be a non-sentient entity, yet possesses far greater agency and influence within itsnarrative than any human character, all while maintaining a mnemonic connection to thenatural world. The Rood's possession of this naturalness is reliant on its ability to resist subjugation in its relations with humans and effect change in the human world—a clear demonstration of the vitality of non-human matter that Bennett theorizes. Indeed, the

27 Pasternack, Carol Braun, "Stylistic Disjunctions in 'The Dream of the Rood,'" 171; This essay is quite funny to me because I wrote a functionally identical one, thesis- and theory-wise, on the Errol Morris film*The Thin Blue Line.*

vitality that the Rood exhibits is not a mapping-on of human qualities but a real instance ofattention to the role of natural entities in human-natural interactions.

III. ...The Tree's Nobility[28]...

When relating the *Dream of the Rood* to Exeter Book riddles, the logical first step is an analysis of the two "Cross" riddles, nos. 30 and 53. Both riddles make a strong distinctionbetween the riddle-object's experiences in the natural world and in the human world

Riddle 30 does little to integrate its solution's two forms: the steadfast tree, strivingagainst the storm; and the precious cross being kissed and bowed down before by its humanowners. There is a clear dichotomy between the riddle's two halves—struggle and calm, or war and peace—as we can see below:

> Ic eom legbysig, lace mid winde,
> bewunden mid wuldre, wedre gesomnad,
> fus forðweges, fyre gebysgad,
> bearu blowende, byrnende gled.
> Ful oft mec gesiþas sendað æfter hondum,
> þæt mec weras ond wif wlonce cyssað.
> Þonne ic mec onhæbbe, ond hi onhnigaþ to me
> monige mid miltse, þær ic monnum sceal ycan
> upcyme eadignesse.[29]

28 Riddle 55, l. 8b.
29 Riddle 30a, ll. 1-9.

> [I am fire-busy, [I] fight with the wind, wound about with glory, united with storm, eager for the journey, agitated by fire; [I am] a blooming grove, a burning ember. Very often companions pass me from hand to hand when proud men and women kiss me. When I exalt myself and they bow to me, many with humility, I shall bring there increasing happiness to humans.]

The former demonstrates a sort of warrior nobility—perhaps Beowulfian—while the latter exhibits some form of divine nobility—Christ-ian, if you will. This is most apparent in lines 2a, "bewunden mid wuldre*"* [wound about with glory] and 7, "Þonne ic mec onhæbbe, ond hi onhnigaþ to me" [When I exalt myself, and they bow to me] respectively. This is not, however, an allegory for the re-Christianization of Britain. Although every transformation riddle would necessarily bear some resemblance to *The Dream*'s account, Riddle 30's treeends up as a cross in a place of religious exultation, much like the Rood does. Indeed, asMegan Cavell notes, some of the riddle's language is also strongly reminiscent of the *Dream*'s opening and closing speeches.[30] Despite its relatively tame ending, Riddle 30 paintsa vivid picture of the power of the natural world and its power over human affairs. The riddle-object's account of its experiences before becoming a cross depicts an electrifying struggle against the forces of nature, and yet it offers no resistance to its transformation from a strong, noble tree into a cross small enough to hold in one hand. It is in the final transformation into a cross that the riddle-object attains its influence over human affairs, as

30 Cavell, Megan, and Pirkko Koppinen "Commentary for Riddle 30a and b," October 22, 2014. https://theriddleages.wordpress.com/2014/10/21/commentary-for-riddle-30a-and-b/; she is referringspecifically to l. 2a, "bewunden mid wuldre" and ll. 8b-9, "þær ic monnum sceal / ycan upcyme eadignesse."

it becomes the focus of religious adoration and gains the power to "bring increasing happiness to humans."[31]

Riddle 53 begins in a manner similar to that of Riddle 30, but takes a turn in a moreforceful direction:

> Ic seah on bearwe beam hlifian,
> tanum torhtne. Þæt treo wæs on wynne,
> wudu weaxende. Wæter hine ond eorþe
> feddan fægre, oþþæt he frod dagum
> on oþrum wearð aglachade
> deope gedolgod, dumb in bendum,
> wriþen ofer wunda, wonnum hyrstum
> foran gefrætwed. Nu he fæcnum weg
> þurh his heafdes mægenhildegieste
> 10 oþrum rymeð. Oft hy an yste strudon
> hord ætgædre; hræd wæs ond unlæt
> se æftera, gif se ærra fær
> genamnan in nearowe neþan moste.[32]

> [I saw a tree towering in a wood with radiant branches. That tree was in joy, growing in the forest. Water and earth fed him fairly, until he, wise in days, came into a second, miserable state, deeply wounded, silent in his shackles, racked all over with wounds, adorned with dark ornaments on his front. Now he, through the might of head, clears the path to another treacherous enemy. Often they stole by storm the treasure together; he was unhesitating and unflagging, the follower, if the first was compelled to undertake the journey, as a companion inconfinement.]

This forceful turn is the driving force behind Riddle 53's other common solution, "Battering Ram," but through this alternate solution, perhaps there are parallels to be drawn. Like Riddle 30, this cross began its life as a noble and powerful tree, but was subjected to a

31 Riddle 30a, ll. 8b-9.
32 Riddle 53, ll. 1-13.

violent transformation at the hands of its human captors. Even after being "racked all overwith wounds," the riddle-object displays a commitment to "clearing a path" for its followersthat mimics a Christ-like humility. That is not to say that the riddle-object of Riddle 54 is notexercising some form of power over its human subjects—confronting "treacherous enemies" on behalf of its followers strikes me as an exercise of such power. Rather, the riddle-objects of Riddles 30 and 53 represent divergent paths from a shared beginning that reflect the many nuances—and occasional consistencies—of the interactions between humans and natural-entities-turned-objects.

IV. **...Hard, Headless, Despoiled[33]...**

Riddles 88 and 93, or the "Inkhorn" riddles, are thematically unlike Riddles 30 and53, but they display most clearly the paradigm of violent transformation and human subjugation of nature that I have already described.. Because they share so much in common, I believe they are better understood as two variations on the same theme, and Iwill touch briefly on their relationship to the patterns that I have analyzed in the *Dream* and the other Exeter Book riddles. Both riddles display kinship relations: one between the creature's two horns,[34] the other between the current year's pair of horns and the following

33 Riddle 14, l. 10.
34 Riddle 88 ll. 9-14.

year's new growth.[35] Particularly noticeable is the pain of separation that each riddle-object conveys following the severance of these relationships.[36] Similarly painful are the riddles'accounts of the suffering they now endure as inkhorns, "Siþþan mec isern innanweardne / brun bennade"[37] [afterward dusky iron wounded me inwardly]. We must consider, though, the extent to which these inkhorns and their exceptional adherence to the expected paradigm of human-natural interactions makes them an exception, rather than a rule.

V ..... Wider than this Green Plain[38]…

Having analyzed the sinuous contours of human-natural relations and interactions within the *Dream of the Rood* and the selection of relevant Exeter Book riddles, I will turnmy attention to Riddles 40 and 66—and Aldhelm's Enigma *c*—and broadly theorize what I believe to be these poems' conception of the natural world. This hypothetical early medieval English conception of the natural world rests on three main points: that the natural world is unimaginably vast, that the natural world has incredible power and unyielding dominion over the human domain and every other material concern, and that the idea of a naturalworld is coterminous with the idea of biblical Creation.

35 Riddle 88, 15-17; Riddle 93, 14-16.
36 Bitterli, Dieter, *Say What I Am Called: The Old English Riddles of the Exeter Book and the Anglo-Latin Riddle Tradition* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019) 8-9.
37 Riddle 93, 17-18a.
38 Riddle 40, l. 51.

The most notable feature of the natural world that Riddles 40 and 66 imagine is itsscope. In addition to Riddle 40's twice-mentioned refrain that gives this section its name —"Ic eorþan eom æghwær brædre / ond widgielra þonne þes wong grena"[39] [I am everywhere broader than the earth, and wider than this green plain]—both riddles also havepassages that claim in some form that the riddle-object reaches above the highest conceivable point and below the lowest.[40] This theorized natural world extends to the limits of the reader's imagination in all three dimensions[41] It is also striking that, per Riddle 40,the scope of the natural world contains *and* exceeds the vastness of the Earth, which for the discerning 9th-century reader surely counted among the largest things of which they could conceive. It should come as no surprise then, that these riddles depict the natural world aspossessing incredible power and command over every conceivable domain.

The power of the natural world is extolled in several places in both Riddles 40 and66, but the most forceful assertion of that power and primacy over the every material domain comes in Riddle 40:

39 Riddle 40, ll. 50-51.

40 Riddle 40, ll. 38-41: "Hyrre ic eom heofone, hateþ mec heahcyning / his deagol þing dyre bihealdan / eac ic under eorþan eal sceawige / wom wraðscrafu wraþra gæsta." [I am higher than heaven, the high-king callsme secretly to behold his hidden nature. I also see all the impure, foul dens of evil spirits under the earth.];Riddle 66, ll. 5b-8a: "Grundum ic hrine / helle underhnige, heofonas oferstige / wuldres eþel, wide ræce / ofer engla eard" [I touch the abyss, I sink under hell, I surmount the heavens, glory's inheritance, I widely reach for angels' station].

41 Though I cannot be certain that Aldhelm and the Exeter Book scribes were taking a particularly mathematical approach to this problem.

Nis under me ænig oþer
wiht waldendre on worldlife;ic
eom ufor ealra gesceafta,
þara þe worhte waldend user,
se mec ana mæg ecan meahtum,
geþeon þrymme, þæt ic onþunian ne sceal.[42]

[Beneath me there is no other creature in this worldly life; I am above all created things, thosethat our Ruler worked, he alone can increase me in might, tame my strength, that I shall not exceed my bounds.]

This passage definitively submits the human domain to the control of the natural world, which the passage indicates can only be tempered by divine power. To further expand onthat point, between the two riddles, humans make only a very brief cameo appearance ofapproximately one and a half lines: "se þe hæleþa bearn / secgas searoþoncle, seaxe delfaþ."[43] [which the children of warriors, skillfully-minded men, dig up with a dagger]. This creates a strange dynamic wherein Creation and humanity are seemingly at odds, or at the very least there is a tension between the two. Aldhelm's Enigma *c* and its contributionsto Riddle 40 only further complicate the issue, as they both combine Christian language with clear references to classical mythology—although they are fairly watered down in Riddle 40's version of the text.

42 Riddle 40, ll. 86-91.
43 Riddle 40, ll. 96b-97.

VI. Where Do We Go From Here?

Given my analyses of both the *Dream of the Rood* and the Exeter Book riddles, the question still remains: is there really a point to performing an ecocritical, vital materialistreading of these texts? The short answer is yes. The *Dream* and the riddles, when viewedthrough an ecocritical lens, reveal a snapshot of the complex relationships between humans, natural entities, products of human artifice, and the natural world. Their literary qualities—foremost among these being their use of inanimate object narrators—allows both works to explore the nuances of human-object interactions and reveals the extent of theiranticipation of modern ecocritical and vital materialist worldviews. It is consistently trueacross my small sample of Old English literature that naturalness and a connection to natureare intended features of tan early medieval English understanding of objects.

In light of my conclusions, I believe that further ecocritical readings of other ExeterBook riddles and Anglo-Latin riddles are a fruitful avenue for exploration, and there are afew areas in which I have lingering questions to answer. First and foremost, how would anecocritical approach to riddles not narrated by the riddle-object account for the loss of the valuable object-oriented framework that I have argued is critical for vital materialist readings? The Exeter Book riddles are by no means a monolith and arguably have more differences than commonalities, but their focus on materiality and the naturalness of material things is by far their strongest shared characteristic.

The other significant area that I would have liked to explore, given more time andspace, is the way in which the early medieval English conception of the natural world isinextricably tied to religion and the idea of a divine Creation, and how holiness or sanctitycontribute to and modify the power dynamic that already exists between the human and thenon-human and natural. I think that an expansion or re-imagining of my thesis in terms of Christian religious understandings of the natural world should consider a vital materialist reading of holy relics, reliquaries, and other objects that within the early medieval worldview possessed a real capacity to affect change in enormous ways. In a simpler addition, I think closer attention to the interplay between Christianity and naturalness would be extremely useful for expanding on my analysis of the Rood and Riddles 30 and 53 andhelp to develop a fuller picture of early medieval ideas about nature.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Dobbie, Elliott van Kirk, and George Philip Krapp, eds. *The Exeter Book*. Anglo-SaxonPoetic Records 3. New York: Columbia University Press, 1936.

———, eds. *The Vercelli Book*. Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records 2. New York: ColumbiaUniversity Press, 1936.

Pitman, James Hall, trans. *The Riddles of Aldhelm: Text and Verse Translation*. Yale Studiesin English 67. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925.

Secondary Sources

Alber, Jan, Stefan Iversen, Henrik Skov Nielsen, and Brian Richardson. "Unnatural Narratives, Unnatural Narratology: Beyond Mimetic Models." *Narrative* 18, no. 2(May 2010): 113–36.

Bennett, Jane. *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things*. Durham: Duke UniversityPress, 2010.

Bitterli, Dieter. *Say What I Am Called: The Old English Riddles of the Exeter Book and the Anglo-Latin Riddle Tradition*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019.

Blauner, D. G. "The Early Literary Riddle." *Folklore* 78, no. 1 (Spring 1967): 49–58.

Brown, Bill. "Thing Theory." *Critical Inquiry* 28, no. 1 (Autumn 2001): 1–22.

Burbery, Timothy J. "Ecocriticism and Christian Literary Scholarship." *Christianity andLiterature* 61, no. 2 (Winter 2012): 189–214.

Cavell, Megan, and Pirkko Koppinen "Commentary for Riddle 30a and b" October 22, 2014. https://theriddleages.wordpress.com/2014/10/21/commentary-for-riddle-30a- and-b/

Chaganti, Seeta. "Vestigial Signs: Inscription, Performance, and 'The Dream of the Rood.'" *PMLA* 125, no. 1 (January 2010): 48–72.

Cherniss, Michael D. "The Cross as Christ's Weapon: The Influence of Heroic LiteraryTradition on 'The Dream of the Rood.'" *Anglo-Saxon England* 2 (1973): 241–52.

Doane, A. N. "Three Old English Implement Riddles: Reconsiderations of Numbers 4, 49,

and 73." *Modern Philology* 84, no. 3 (February 1987): 243–57.
Estes, Heide. *Anglo-Saxon Literary Landscapes*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017.
Galloway, Andrew. "Dream-Theory in the Dream of the Rood and The Wanderer." *TheReview of English Studies* 45, no. 180 (November 1994): 475–85
Harris, Anne F. "Hewn." In *Inhuman Nature*, edited by Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, 17–38. Washington, DC: Oliphaunt Books, 2014.
Holsinger, Bruce. "Of Pigs and Parchment: Medieval Studies and the Coming of the Animal." *PMLA* 124, no. 2 (March 2009): 616–23.
Irvine, Martin. "Anglo-Saxon Literary Theory Exemplified in Old English Poems: Interpreting the Cross in 'The Dream of the Rood' and 'Elene.'" *Style* 20, no. 2(Summer 1986): 157–81.
Klein, Thomas. "The Old English Translation of Aldhelm's Riddle Lorica." *The Review ofEnglish Studies* 48, no. 191 (August 1997): 345–49.
Lehtimäki, Markku. "Natural Environments in Narrative Contexts: Cross-Pollinating Ecocriticism and Narrative Theory." *Storyworlds: A Journal of Narrative Studies* 5 (2013): 119–41.
Magennis, Hugh. "The Cup as Symbol and Metaphor in Old English Literature." *Speculum* 60, no. 3 (July 1985): 517–36.
McFadden, Brian. "Raiding, Reform, and Reaction: Wondrous Creatures in the Exeter Book Riddles." *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 50, no. 4 (Winter 2008): 329–51.
Mize, Britt. "The Mental Container and the Cross of Christ: Revelation and Community inthe Dream of the Rood." *Studies in Philology* 107, no. 2 (Spring 2010): 131–78.
Morton, Timothy. *Hyperobjects: Philosophy and Ecology after the End of the World*. Posthumanities 27. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013.
Nelson, Marie. "The Rhetoric of the Exeter Book Riddles." *Speculum* 49, no. 3 (July 1974):421–40.
Neville, Jennifer. *Representations of the Natural World in Old English Poetry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
———. "The Unexpected Treasure of the 'Implement Trope': Hierarchical Relationships inthe Old English Riddles." *The Review of English Studies* 62, no. 256 (September 2011): 505–19.
O'Brien O'Keeffe, Katherine. "The Text of Aldhelm's Enigma No. c in Oxford, Bodleian

Library, Rawlinson C. 697 and Exeter Riddle 40." *Anglo-Saxon England* 14 (December 1985): 61–73.

Pasternack, Carol Braun. "Stylistic Disjunctions in 'The Dream of the Rood.'" *Anglo-Saxon England* 13 (1984): 167–86.

Payne, Richard C. "Convention and Originality in the Vision Framework of 'The Dream ofthe Rood.'" *Modern Philology* 73, no. 4 (May 1976): 329–41.

Richardson, Brian. "Unnatural Narrative Theory." *Style* 50, no. 4 (2016): 385–405. Robertson,

Kellie. "Medieval Things: Materiality, Historicism, and the Premodern Object." *Literature Compass* 5, no. 6 (November 2008): 1060-1080.

Salih, Sarah. "Idol Theory." *Preternature: Critical and Historical Studies on the Preternatural* 4, no. 1 (2015): 13–36.

Schlauch, Margaret. "The Dream of the Rood as Prosopopoeia." In *Essays and Studies in Honor of Carleton Brown*, edited by Percy Waldron Long. New York: New York University Press, 1940.

Siewers, Alfred K. "Trees." In *Inhuman Nature*, edited by Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, 101–13. Washington, DC: Oliphaunt Books, 2014.

Smith, Mick. *Against Ecological Sovereignty: Ethics, Biopolitics, and Saving the Natural World*. Posthumanities 16. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011.

Stratyner, Leslie. "The 'Battle with the Monster': Transformation of a Traditional Pattern in'The Dream of the Rood.'" *Oral Tradition* 12, no. 2 (1997): 308–21.

Swanton, M. J. "Ambiguity and Anticipation in 'The Dream of the Rood.'" *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 70, no. 3 (1969): 407–25.

Tate, George S. "Chiasmus as Metaphor: The 'Figura Crucis' Tradition and 'The Dream ofthe Rood.'" *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 79, no. 2 (1978): 114–25.

Taylor, Archer. "The Riddle." *California Folklore Quarterly* 2, no. 2 (April 1943): 129:47.